

**INSIDE: Hispanic power in the state of Texas**

# Maclean's

MAY 14, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

## IRAN'S CHILD WARRIORS

**The staggering  
toll of the  
Gulf conflict**

**The West's new fears  
about oil supplies**

**Iranian teenagers captured by Iraq**



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

**Maclean's**

MAY 14, 1994 VOL. 37 NO. 20

COVER

**The child warriors**

The casualties, in bloody battles reminiscent of the First World War, may total 200,000 in homicides between Iran and Iraq. Another twisted blowback is Iraq's use of deadly mustard gas against its foes. But the truly staggering toll is among the children whose lives has disappeared in the front as martyrs to the cause of Islam. —Page 44

COVER PHOTO BY MICHAEL LEONARD FOR MACLEAN'S



**The challenge of the West**

The Liberals staged an all-out political debate in Saskatoon, but the rows of empty seats were reminders of the party's problems in the West. —Page 48



**Battle over a high rise**

After a 30-month fight to protect a historic section of downtown Halifax from a modern apartment building, city council has defeated the preservationists. —Page 53



CONTENTS

Arts	17
Books	61
Business/Economy	36
Canada	18
Comp	64
Film	74
Follow-up	13
Fotheringham	76
Heritage	73
Law	58
Medicine	58
News	32
Passages	4
People	54
Sports	36
Technology	72
Weather	68
World	32



**A surge of Hispanic power**

Latins have suddenly emerged as a dynamic new political force in U.S. politics—one that will play a pivotal role in this year's presidential election. —Page 32



**Conflict on the high seas**

Neil Gaiman and Anthony Hopkins star in *The Beetle*, the third screen incarnation of the legendary struggle between Capt. Jack and Vintcent Christian. —Page 74



## Children at war

The 44-month-old war in the Persian Gulf between Iraq and Iraqis has rivaled the attention of Westerners because Iraq is using deadly airborne chemicals and because Iraq has sent children to the front lines. The charred, swollen faces and limbs of Iranian soldiers, struck down by mustard gas, have become the symbols of a bloody contest that has killed as many as 800,000. Compounding the horror is the fact that many of the retreating bodies are those of 13-



Lower: 'A solution seems distant'

and 14-year-old boys. Correspondents report chilling scenes of thousands of teenagers walking through Iraqi minefields to clear the way for tanks and in-labour by poking the explosives with sticks or jumping on them. Despite all the evidence, Iraq has denied the unspeakable brutality of murdering children for battle.

Iraq's President Saddam Hussein started what he hoped would be a popular—and short—foreign conflict. But he has been consistently outmanoeuvred by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, who has turned Iraq's goal into nothing short of the overthrow of the Iraqi leader—a process that virtually guarantees a senseless prolonging of one of the decade's most inescapable confrontations.

Senior Writer Ross Lovejoy, who wrote this week's cover story, with accounts from both Iraq and Iraq, concluded, "With both Hussein and Khomeini locked in a vicious personal vendetta, a solution seems distant indeed." Added Senior Editor David North, who co-edited the cover package: "It certainly is difficult to see how either side can find a way out. However, an encouraging sign is that the Iranian leadership now appears split on what, if anything, can be gained from outliving the war."

*Kevin Doyle*

Maclean's May 16, 1991

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## Innocence abroad?

I sincerely hope that the April 16 *Junior* article, *A disputed killing in New Jersey*, together with the well-researched documentary done by CBC Halifax Inquiry will lead to correcting an injustice that appears to have been done to Bruce Carlin—a Canadian citizen—in a New Jersey court. Although criminal law is not my area of expertise, the information that the media provided indicates that a number of errors in the trial resulted in Carlin's imprisonment. I agree that Canada cannot interfere with a foreign trial. But when an injustice has been done to a Canadian citizen in another country, we have an obligation to assist in every possible way—including diplomatic activity—to right a wrong. However, should his conviction be sustained on appeal, the fact that he was only 18 at the time means that he should, at least, be returned to Canada to serve his sentence in a progressive facility in Nova Scotia.

—DONALD A. BEECHER, QC,  
St. John's, Nfld.

## Seeds of discontent

Regarding Allan Fotheringham's April 28 column, *Modifying a man's future*, *Die*, Fotheringham referred to rural dwellers as "Burgin" and states that farmers are "unintelligent." To be a farmer takes more skill than just short-sighted measures. A farmer has to be self-sufficient, part mechanic, part veterinarian and so on. Perhaps Fotheringham should spend a week on a farm in spring, just to see what really goes on.

—DAN McNICOLLE,  
Aurora, Ont.

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Carlin: an obligation to help

I was appealed to read Allan Fotheringham's reference to "Burgin" as "unintelligent." I am sure that if you are a farmer, you must have a low IQ. There are undoubtedly rural people as cynical and narrow-minded as Fotheringham suggests, but they are the exception rather than the rule.

—ANTHONY MATHIAS,  
Dundas, Ont.

## Environmental reservations

Readers it is to be commended for the comprehensive report on the recent bombing episode in the Sudan. The mysterious bomber attack, World, April 22. Your report has brought to the light some of the major factors that political observers consider critical to the fate of the present government as well as to the rise and fall of future regimes. But I disagree with your claim that "the Southern forces oppose the 800-km. Juba-geld area because it would supply water to the North and to Egypt." The Nile River is the sole supplier of fresh water to the North and to Egypt; any effort to block the northward flow of Nile water would have to be devoted to the unpopular task of diverting the course of the Nile. Also, Southern Sudanese forces have neither the desire nor the means to divert the Nile or the Arab Republic of Egypt or any other nation of the quantities of water allocated to them by the provisions of Nile Water Agreements of 1959 and their amendments. The people of Southern Sudan oppose the Juba-geld because research has revealed that the canal is a potential environmental hazard; it is believed that, if dug, the canal would cause severe and irreparable ecological destruction.

—MOSHE MOFROK ARLO,  
Grand Rapids, Mich.

## PASSAGES

**AWARDS:** To author Hugh MacLennan, age 77, \$100,000 and a gold medal, by the Royal Bank, on Montreal, MacLennan, professor emeritus at McGill University, has received five Governor General's Awards and numerous other honors for his writings, which include *The Shogun* and *The Watch That Ends Night*. In receiving his winner, the selection committee and MacLennan "will be recognized as the significant voice in Canada for the 20th century." Morley Callaghan and Northrop Frye have also received the award.

**DECEASED:** Jack Barry, 66, game show producer and host of CBS's *The Joker's Wild* for the past 12 years, of a heart attack while jogging, in New York City. Barry also produced *Concentration*, which aired from 1958 to 1974, making it the longest-running daytime game show in television history. He began his broadcasting career in the early 1940s as a radio announcer on WJLB in Trenton, N.J. In 1945 he joined WJLB radio in New York, where he began a 38-year partnership with producer Dan Enright.

**DECEASED:** Alan Schneider, 66, American theatre director, of heart infarction sustained when he was struck by a motorcycle, in London. Russian-born Schneider became renowned for his productions of Samuel Beckett's plays after he directed the U.S. premiere of *Waiting for Godot* at the Concordia College Playhouse in Miami in 1956. He also directed the original Broadway production of Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* in 1962, as well as works by Harold Pinter and Bertolt Brecht.

**DECEASED:** Gordon Jenkins, 75, composer and conductor known for his work with Henry Goodman, Frank Sinatra and Judy Garland, of arteriosclerotic lateral sclerosis ("Lou Gehrig's disease"), in Malibu, Calif. Jenkins, who wrote *San Fernando Valley* and *P.S. I Love You*, gained fame with Manhattan Transfer, a recorded musical sensation. He was musical director for NBC from 1959 to 1964 and won a Grammy nomination for his writing and conducting on Sinatra's *Trilogy* album.

**DECEASED:** Diana Drew, 52, the actress once called as Britain's answer to Marilyn Monroe, of cancer, in Windsor, England. The platinum-haired Drew was best-known for her sexy roles in such films as *Good Time Girl* and *The Wink and the Wink*. She began her career at age 14 in *The Shop at Sly Corner* and by the time she was 26 she was Britain's highest-paid actress, with a \$3-million contract.

## Displaying parents' rights

For once I agree with Barbara Amiel and her reaction to our society's concept of parenthood (Which parent owns the child?, Column, April 18). As Germaine Greer observes in our society of the same name, sure is a child-bearing society. Social progress and human liberation will not be achieved by providing greater "choices" to adults. Rather, we must somehow support adults to reduce dramatically the extensive gallery of abuse that characterizes our attitudes and behavior toward these humans on whom any hope for ultimate progress and liberation is our society depends.

—DAVE HALL,  
Vancouver

Thank you for Barbara Amiel's column *Which parent owns the child?* I find it amusing how far our "humanity" has come when a child can be killed by its own mother and the father has no "right" to intervene. Has the family unit become so eroded in our society that the law actually condones such a crime? King Solomon was known to be the wisest man who ever lived. Thank you for exposing what his foods were, however.

—MILANIE DUBOIS,  
Portage la Prairie, Man.

Surely the question is not "which parent owns the child?" but rather "which parent owns the stress and the overwhelming body and emotions?" This has nothing to do with King Solomon. What about the situation where the woman wants the child and the man does not? Could the man force the woman to have an abortion? The growing recognition that it is up to the person in whose womb the fetus develops to make the final decision, hopefully with the agreement and support of the person conceptually for the conception, is an important step in the long quest of women for autonomy and equality.

—PHILIPPE ROBERT DE MARCY,  
Montreal, Que.

Our "progressive" society needs more people like Barbara Amiel arguing the absurdities of the feminist issue. Women who are "pro-choice" should make their choices before they conceive, not when they realize what a "fetus release" it would be to carry a child full term. It's time that men took up the fight.

—JAMES ULANOWSKI,  
Montreal, Ont.

## Sex and motherhood

It amazes me that Germaine Greer and similar feminist writers have such a large following (*Life with Less Sex*, Cover, April 18). I suppose that some women need to be told how to think, feel

and behave, just as some need to be told what to wear. That Greer's advice turns 180° on itself seems no more confusing to them than the shifts and reversals in political ideology to the hapless citizens of some Communist countries. I also find it difficult to understand how anyone can take seriously a person who identifies herself with her abortions and her promiscuity and then nostalgically writes of the merits of child-bearing and child-rearing like a badly haunted sex worshipper extolling the virtues

—LY WELLS,  
Long River, P.R.I.

In *Life with Less Sex*, Germaine Greer makes the obvious generalization that population control programs in the Third World have been characterized by arrogance, bigotry and inhumanity. As a member of the international family planning movement, Planned Parenthood, of Canada has long worked to provide universal access to information on family planning and services to the literally hundreds of thousands of women who are dying each year because they lack effective birth control. Does Greer really believe that women use birth control to engage in



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recreational sex instead of using it to escape both the number and timing of children they are having and to improve the quality of their life? What right does Greer have to force her choice—abstinence—on these women and deny them a basic human right? Instead of pointing her energy into convincing her colleagues of the importance of "let every opportunity," Greer should devote her attention to bettering conditions for women and children in the Third World.

—DAVID MCCLES MD

President,  
Planned Parenthood Federation  
of Canada,  
Ottawa

After reading *Life with less sex and The long, hard search for liberation* (Cover box, April 16), hope dawned that at long last the "liberation" movement may be flaying its rightful owner—providing an atmosphere in which women can grow and develop, free of meaningless restrictions, and make the best personal contribution to humanity. Because nature granted women the privilege to populate this world, we inherently must accommodate our intellects, our bodies and the basic instincts of our hearts to the responsibilities inevitably demanded by a position of such trust, whether we embrace the spirit or not.

—LORNE PATTERSON  
Fountain, Ont.

### A French immersion

Parents are lining up to send their children in French immersion classes, a result of *The new politics of language* (Cover, April 2). Many may regret their decision when they discover that students do not learn as much conversational and geographic in French as they would in English. Learning to read in the early grades is especially difficult. Report card results can be misleading because scores and tests can easily be watered down. If the sole purpose of a child's education is the mastery of French, immersion is probably the best answer. However, there are a lot of people who are setting under the illusion that French immersion will solve Canada's unity problems. There is a need for greater understanding between French and English Canada, but this will not be accomplished by immersion.

—ROBERT PICKER,  
Bloomfield, Que.

### A curious logic

While Alexander Bruce writes so appreciatively of Israel's democracy at work (*After and well*, Letter, April 16), he simultaneously laments the "barren and murderous violence" committed by Israel against the fundamental human

rights of the Palestinian people in the territories occupied in 1948 and 1967. It is a curious logic that suggests that the Palestinians living in Israel should be content with the loss of birthright, home, human heritage and human dignity because settlers in their former homeland "suffered" and "deserved" a "legitimate" vote among themselves as to how to divide up the property.

—AZEE KAMRAN,  
Brossard, Que.



Gutfreid: taking Canadian humor south

### A rare talent for humor

Regarding the article about Sondra Gutfreid (People, April 9) and the tradition-bound recitals of anonymous mockers of her fee sense of humor (surely a Canadian woman, by marrying someone who subsequently becomes successful, has not contracted away her personality, but wiser to her right to exercise a rare talent for humor. If being boring is what Canada requires of spouses of diplomats, then let us pay them for being so and include humorlessness and subservience to etiquette in their contracts. Otherwise, let us keep quiet and enjoy our finest ambassador of goodwill.

—LINDA LOREN,  
Edmonton

### Bell: no sleepy monopoly

Peter C. Newman's article *New conquests by the Bell empire* (Business Watch, April 16) made a number of encouraging observations about the recent negotiations by Bell Canada Enterprises Inc. It was a pity he felt it necessary to indulge in extreme journalistic

poor in describing Bell Canada's earlier performance as that of a "sleepy monopoly producing indifferent decisions and mediocre telephone service." Hardly an appropriate description for a company that has provided a quality of telephone service judged internationally to be among the best in the world, invested heavily in the establishment and development of what is now one of the world's most successful telecommunications manufacturing companies (Northern Telecom), participated in the establishment and growth of the largest privately owned research and development organization in Canada (Bell-Northern Research), and through successful international competition against the best in the world has brought billions of dollars of revenue to Canada's balance-of-payments account. If that was the performance of a sleepy monopoly, just watch us when we wake up!

—J. V. RAYMOND OYE,  
President,  
Bell Canada,  
Montreal

### A fluid description

In contrast to Allan Fotheringham's description of Thomas Hardy's Ale as a "lighter fluid that has gone bad" (*Cover of age is an elderly last*, Column, April 16), let us ponder the prose of Hardy himself. His more fluent contemplation of ale may apply: "It was of the most beautiful color that the eye of an artist in beer could desire, full of body, yet brisk as a volcano, pleasant yet without a taint; luminous as an autumn sunset, free from stressfulness of taste, but, finally, rather heady." Possibly a royal commission should study the differences of opinion on such an important matter.

—R. W. WATKINS,  
Vancouver

### Lost in the middle

I am surprised that nobody seems to understand the real reason behind the NDP's dramatic decline in popularity. The NDP's fight for survival, Cover, April 16. A polarization has taken place in Canadian politics, and the only real choice is between either a (Liberal) or Conservative government. A polarized electorate votes for a government, not as opposition, and every informed voter knows that the NDP cannot possibly elect enough MPs to form a government. The most realistic comment to your story came from former NDP research director James Laxer: Four years of shrill, high-pitched criticism of the Liberals by the NDP helped the Conservative cause more than the NDP's. The NDP should have been much more critical of their/our real enemy—the Canadian version of right-wing Rep-

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governies or represented by the Conservative party. Infatuated criticism of the moderate left policies of the Liberal government gave more credibility to the right and to its claim that the Conservatives were the only credible alternative. By being critical only of the Liberals, the NDP damaged their own cause, and we now see the results in the opinion polls.

—BRIAN BAKER,  
Windsor

### The price of generosity

Although your April 9 Canada article MacRack's Liberal largesse (news) needed attention, Allan MacRack's willingness to use taxpayers' money to shore up his personal popularity, it leaves the false impression that this practice has benefited the people of Cape Breton Island. Indeed, few Canadians have suffered as much as Cape Bretoners from government decisions based on political rather than economic criteria. If the millions of dollars that the federal government poured into Cape Breton over the years had in fact been used in the best interests of the residents of the island rather than in the best interests of their member of Parliament, the area would certainly be better off today. The decision to move the Nova Scotia Maritime Institute (NSMI) from Halifax to Port Hawkes-

bury is an excellent example of a government action more oriented toward the well-being of MacRack's than toward the welfare of his long-suffering constituents. Government documents released in January show that the federal authorities had no idea what the cost of the move would be when the decision was announced. Indeed, the total cost is now set at \$25.5 million—more than double the original estimate of \$11 million. If there is \$22 million to spend in Nova Scotia, would it not make more sense to locate and upgrade the NSMI in the most efficient way possible and to use the excess millions to invest in facilities that are truly needed in Port Hawkesbury? One could do a lot of good with \$11 million, which appears to be the price of MacRack's largesse.

—TOM STEWART, M.P.,  
PC Canada Spokesman on  
Economic Development and  
Science and Technology,  
Ottawa

### Wooling the electorate

The charade is upon us once more, and we currently have a pair of Central Canadian lawyers wooling the electorate with guarded promises that they, and they alone, have the solution to the problems of our country. It becomes business when I recall a CBC public af-

fair program of 25 years ago, during the Diefenbaker regime former mayor of Ottawa Charlotte Whitton, when asked the difference between Liberals and Conservatives, replied, "We're in they're out." A pretty sensible remark when one thinks about it. It is such a pity as many Maritimers still feel Sir Wilfrid or Sir John A. are still hovering somewhere out there on this odd political scene.

—FRANK FOLKART,  
Vancouver

It has always been my understanding that we elected our representatives on the strength of their capabilities and not on their opposition capabilities. I am surprised for running for political office now appears to be the possession of a talent for mud-slinging. I am finding it more and more difficult to recall any political position as stated by our leaders, including the gentleman currently running for the leadership of the Liberal party. This country is faced with some very serious problems, as is the rest of the world, and constant diatribes of each other is hardly a productive action. It frightens me that we could elect a person as the leader of this country simply because he is more physically attractive and more able to diminish his opponents' strengths.

—JANE FARGETTE,  
Woodstock, Ont.

### A large fallout

Terrific Jim Cottle announces he will not run for leadership of the Liberal party, and there he is in Canada's weekly newsmagazine (Ottawa) not to run, Canada, April 16. It may interest you to know that my neighbor as well as 10 other people I know have also decided not to run. Details can be supplied in three for your next issue. —JOHN GAGNE,  
Doha, S.C.

### A misnomer

Regarding the letter in your April 30 issue written by Munster Ber-Zana of Cornwall, Ont. (Alternative and reform), I would want to say that the writer is not what or what he claims to be. As a Hebrew-speaking person, let me give you an exact translation of his name: a member is an illegitimate child, and because means one of a prostitute—therefore, in full, the "bastard son of a prostitute." Perhaps he fears you should request translations of names not readily recognizable to you.

—HELEN GELMAN,  
Napanee, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. All correspondence is sent to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean House 4466, 777 Ave. St., Toronto, Ont. M5V 1A7.

### FOLLOW-UP

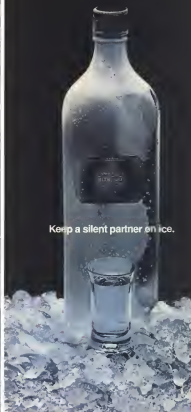
## Gaspé's fight for survival

During a tumultuous 12 days last October the 1,800 residents of the isolated Gaspé municipality of Grande-Valée, Que., mounted a protest that achieved its objective: it drew the attention of the Quebec government to the region's desperate economic problems. The frustrated residents of the fishing Port Québécois stronghold blocked the main highway, forced the closing of the town's provincial government offices and shrouded the four-day flag. Premier René Lévesque called the demonstrators "mercenaries" for their actions, but the protesting citizens s-

*For many Gaspésians  
loud protests are the  
only way of drawing  
government's attention  
to their economic woes*

nally succeeded in obtaining a pledge from Quebec City to spend \$1.5 million on their town's coastal. The Quebec news defined the crisis and ended the violence. But six months later there have been few improvements in the town's problems. The unemployment rate remains at 70 per cent, and many residents are predicting that the summer will bring more angry outbursts to the troubled region. Says the Michel Desjardins, the director of the local health clinic: "The demonstrations are an unfortunate way to attract attention. But when survival of the region is at stake, these methods become more understandable."

Last fall concerns of the protesters centred on the late summer closing of the 16-year-old local Chlo-Chlo saw-mill, which had employed 60 people. Grande-Valée has a history of high unemployment because the region's two main industries, fishing and forestry, provide only seasonal employment. Still, the shutdown was a severe blow to area residents. The mill, owned by the Redje provincial forestry corporation, had actually closed 18 months earlier—after sustaining losses of \$9.55 million over five years—but it reopened for 12 weeks last summer, just long enough for workers to qualify for unemployment insurance. When it closed for the second time, angry residents inter-



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preted the decision as a sign of Quebec City's indifference to their hardships. The local people took their protest to the streets, showing their disaffection for the provincial government by staging a *Comede* and by asking Ottawa to declare the region a federal territory "separate" from Quebec. The demonstration also had an upsurge side: on the night of Oct. 8 someone started a fire, causing \$65,000 in damages to the sawmill's front office. Police later charged 21 local men for that offence and in other related incidents. Then, on Feb. 6, magistrate court Judge Yves Mercier sentenced 17 of them to between one and three months in jail for offences that included mischief, arson, obstruction of justice and assault.

When the trouble first started on Oct. 8, Yves Duhamel, Quebec's energy and resource minister, declared that the provincially owned Refco, which lost \$4.9 million in 1982 (the last year for which figures are available), could not be allowed "a mandate to run any kind of business without an eye to the balance sheet." But 10 days later, as the province considered, Quebec City negotiated and promised to spend \$1 million

to modernize the mill, reopen it permanently this summer and hire 60 inside workers.

In February Duhamel visited Grande-Vallee and committed an additional \$500,000 in government assistance for the mill. On Feb. 16 the province also announced plans to spend another \$29.5 million throughout the Gaspé to upgrade six other sawmills and to build a new wood-processing factory in Matane, 170 km from Grande-Vallee. But many townspeople remain sceptical, claiming that the mill now plans to hire only 11 inside workers—less than half the number originally promised. What is more, they contend that most of the jobs will be either seasonal or will require working experience with such heavy equipment as bulldozers and tractors, jobs that they fear Refco will contract out to better qualified workers. The residents also express doubt that Quebec will fully live up to its spending promises. Said Jean-Claude Goss, the mayor of Grande-Vallee: "We have been lied to so many times in the past that our people are no longer inclined to believe it may not be happening again."

Residents of several nearby economically depressed towns look none of Grande-Vallee's successful protest. Local fishermen are also contemplating mounting their own protest. They have long been appealing to the government for aid for their troubled industry. And last month in the tiny town of Saint-Casimir (population 2,200), across the St. Lawrence River from Grande-Vallee, a series of demonstrations, which often bordered on violence, erupted. Residents demanded that the government reopen the local sawmill, which Quebec City closed two years ago. As well, they urged the government to provide relief for the town, which has a staggering unemployment rate of 76 per cent. Negotiations are now under way between the Clarence Gordon accounting firm and an unnamed company to reopen the sawmill later this month. Quebec City has promised to step in if the deal falls through.

For their part, the region's politicians say that they are sympathetic with the Gaspéites' allegations. Declared Henri Lemay, the PQ back-bencher who represents the riding of Gaspé: "When you are so far away from everything, you always feel that you have to get out a little more for things. That tends to be the only way you can be heard." The PQ government's challenge now is to confront the Gaspéites' economic problems before more angry people decide that they must resort to violence to get the attention of their elected representatives.

—ANTHONY WILSON SMITH  
in Montreal

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## Videotex's uncertain fate

At the first international videotex convention three years ago in Toronto, two Canadian exhibitors—Infomart and Teledisk—were the Couple of the Year at the fledgling high-tech ball. Teledisk was Canada's new, computer-based, two-way information system that allowed users to retrieve information from a central information bank via telephone lines. The Toronto-based Infomart was a \$6-million joint venture among Torstar Corp., the publisher of the Toronto Star, Southam Inc. and Ottawa's federal department of communications, which saw the operation as the instrument to market Teledisk in Canada and abroad.

Five years ago, with 100 figures to back him up, Infomart's then president, David Carlisle, confidently predicted that by 1984, 800,000 Teledisk decoders would be used in Canadian homes. But as far as Carlisle's prophecy has not translated into sales success.

Currently, there are only an estimated 5,000 Teledisk decoders in use in Canada. David Carlisle left Infomart last summer to establish himself as an independent videotex sales agent in Toronto. Last March Torstar announced a decision to gradually reduce its financial interest in Infomart. What is more, the DCC has decided to curtail its support of Teledisk in date the investment has invested \$65 million, with the private sector financing an additional \$200 million. For Infomart and others with a stake in the potentially lucrative videotex industry, that loss of support comes at a time when most observers believe that the new medium may be belatedly coming of age.

Torstar founded Infomart in 1976 to diversify its newspaper base. Industry observers believed that print had a bleak future and that real growth could be found in electronic publishing. Infomart, which was established to market data bases in Canada, grew slowly until 1978, when Bernard Ostry, then DCC deputy minister, discovered Teledisk. Enthusiasm, almost forgotten, in a department laboratory. To Ostry's keen eye Teledisk was vastly superior as a

videotex technology to earlier versions that Britain and France were still marketing aggressively. His interest resulted in the three-way partnership between Torstar, Southam and the DCC. Infomart was to market the new technology, and the DCC underwrote to cover 60 per cent of Infomart's operational costs.

Under Carlisle, a former IBM salesman and a brilliant promoter from Grande Prairie, Alta., Infomart grew from 10 employees in 1979 to 200 in 1981. By 1981, Torstar's and Southam's investment in the still-unprofitable company had doubled to \$12 million in addition to selling Teledisk videotex systems around the world.



Carlisle: visionary

less around the world, Carlisle also started Grassroots, a commercial videotex system that provides hourly updated weather and crop information to farmers in Manitoba, Carol, a public information system serving the federal government, and Telaguide, a network of terminals in shopping malls, hotels and subway across Toronto that fishes tactical information, classified advertising and such details as the latest currency exchange rates.

But last summer Carlisle began to falter. The cost of Teledisk decoders had not dropped to the desired \$200 range as predicted (they remain priced at \$1,400 in Canada and at \$500 in the United States), and a mass-market consumer videotex service was still

a big as a distant horizon. Carlisle had his troubles at hand office as well—particularly with the financially cautious Torstar, whose interest in Infomart had always been shorter term and more sub-conscious than that of Southam president Gordon Fisher, an avowed technology enthusiast. Having fired Carlisle and discarded his plan for a large-scale consumer videotex service last summer, because it was expensive and perhaps because with a plan threatened the Star's own advertising base, Torstar then announced in March that it was gradually reducing its financial commitment to Infomart and that it plan to let Southam pick up the slack. Torstar may eventually go ahead with its own scaled-down "in home" videotex

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service, while those that will concentrate on business applications for Telsion, likely tied to its 30 special-interest trade magazines.

Some industry observers believe that Telsion is pulling out just when the future of videotex is beginning to look promising. Said George Murray, vice-president and director of media for Ogilvy & Mather (Canada) Ltd. advertising agency and a respected videotex analyst, "Telsion probably wanted things to have happened by now. Videotex will pay off in the end for

Southam . . . and I think Infomart will benefit from having one market philosophy rather than two."

The cost of a Telsion decoder, which is required to receive videotex on a television set, is finally dropping to what may be a more affordable price. Several personal computers—notably IBM's and Commodore's—will soon be equipped to decode videotex. As well, Infomart's president, William Hatzidimitriou, has recently seen the fruit of several needs planted by the videotex Carlsberg, who could predict the technological future

better than he could assess markets. Infomart recently sold two versions of its Gramscot project in the United States through its subsidiary Videotex America, which it owns jointly with the Times Mirror Co. of Los Angeles, the second-largest printing and publishing conglomerate in the United States (Time Inc. is number 1). Infomart has sold a Teleguide system in San Francisco and it reports that it is doing those other similar deals elsewhere in the United States. Infomart is also a principal in six commercial videotex trials in U.S. markets, providing decoder-equipped subscribers with services ranging from videotex and home banking to—*in Toronto, at least—classified real estate advertising and financial services.*

Infomart now has some serious U.S. competitors in the North American videotex market. Last month's Videotex '84 conference, held at the Hyatt Regency hotel in Chicago, saw two significant recently formed videotex partnerships in action: one between IBM, Sears, Roebuck & Co. and Citi, and another between Hinesmart Inc., Gould Corp. and News American Publishing Inc., all of which saw a common interest in videotex. As a result of the new activity Hatzidimitriou can once again afford to be slightly optimistic about the videotex industry. "Our opinion continues to be that videotex is a new, important medium," he said. "It will depend on the price of the terminals as well as the network"—a reference to Bell Canada's growing interest in per-call telephone charges, which will throw a wrench into videotex's delicate works—"but it is a medium that will be as important as television or radio. And if you look back, they took a long time to get established."

Still, the commercial development of videotex may have been too slow for the FCC, which has finally sustained its support for Telsion. Robert Rahmeritz, for one, who is now the department's deputy minister, has reservations about videotex's viability, particularly since the government has been supporting videotex technology since 1973 with, he believes, little to show for its investment. Said Rahmeritz: "That is a fairly long period of time for the market to decide whether it wants to pick Telsion up. There is a point at which the government has to let go or cut bait." But industry observers contend that to delay videotex's progress now, when the rest of the world finally seems to be taking notice of the new technology, would well sabotage Canada's slim lead in the application of the technology over the competing videotex technologies of Britain, France and Japan. Said George Murray: "To pull out now would be like buying stocks at the top and selling them at the bottom." —LARRY SHAW

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## A champion behind bars

After more than 25 years in prison Nelson Mandela remains the most potent symbol of South Africa's long black liberation struggle. At 65, he has spent almost one-third of his life behind bars, serving a life sentence for treason. Yet his spirit remains resolute: last month he turned down an offer of freedom because he found the terms unacceptable. The government of South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha was prepared to release him, but

only if he went to live in the nominally independent South African trial "homeland" of Transkei. Mandela vowed that he would never accept a conditional release or have anything to do with the homelands, the rural regions in which the white minority government is resettling more than 3.6 million blacks in an attempt to blunt revolutionary fervor. Mandela also reaffirmed his allegiance to the underground opposition party, the African National Con-

gress (ANC), founded since 1960, of which he is leader.

Mandela received his life sentence in 1964. He had already served one year of an earlier, five-year sentence for organizing a general strike by South African blacks when security forces raided a farmhouse north of Johannesburg and arrested seven top ANC members who were in hiding. The government accused them of forming a revolutionary wing of the congress and moved Mandela out of the prison on Robben Island—South Africa's version of Alcatraz off Cape Town—to stand trial as the new charge of fomenting subversion. The night accused faced possible death sentences but they did not deny the charges. Mandela charged in court that legislation had eliminated all other means of opposing white supremacy. He stated, "We either had to accept inferiority or fight against it with violence." Later, during the trial, in a ringing closing statement, he declared his commitment to a national democracy in which all people would be free. "It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve," he said. "But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Those words were Mandela's last in public. The court sentenced all eight men to life, and Mandela returned to prison. For the past two decades it has been a crime in South Africa to print anything that the ANC leader has said or written, but his long imprisonment has given Mandela a pre-eminent position among black South African nationalists. French authorities treat him with care and allow him regular visits from members of his immediate family, including his wife, Winnie.

In addition to Mandela and the other still-imprisoned leaders of the ANC there are about 500 political prisoners in South African jails. One recently released political prisoner, Neville Alexander, spent 10 years in prison with Mandela. Alexander, who does not belong to the ANC and who says that he has "some quite basic disagreements over ideology and strategy" with the ANC leader, describes him as "unquestionably one of the most impressive people I have ever met." According to Alexander, both the police guards and the other prisoners realized that the government had singled Mandela out for special treatment for fear of world outrage if anything were to happen to him, but Mandela never took advantage of it. Said Alexander, "A lesser person might have berated the wardens, but he always treated them with total courtesy and respect. In most cases that was reciprocated. They were all impressed by him." Added Alexander: "Some even admitted as much."

—DAVID COHEN, with *Attolator Sparks* in Johannesburg.



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Québec

Q&A: ABBA EBAN

## The pitfalls of diplomacy

Abba Eban, considered by many to be Israel's most experienced and articulate international spokesman, recently published *The New Diplomacy*, a highly acclaimed book on international affairs. The book, which describes the radical changes that have taken place in international diplomacy since the Second World War, reflects Eban's broad diplomatic experience, first as Israel's permanent representative to the United Nations (1948 to 1955) and to the United States (1959 to 1968), and later as Israeli foreign minister (1968 to 1974). For the past seven years Eban, 65, has been the opposition Labor party's foreign affairs spokesman and is likely to be Israel's next foreign minister if the Labor party wins the general election in July. Maclean's correspondent David Bernstein spoke with Eban at his home in the exclusive Hervegia township north of Tel Aviv.

**Maclean's:** What has been the most revolutionary change in diplomatic methodology?

**Eban:** Diplomacy used to be marked by reticence. It is now wide open to the media. This is by far the most revolutionary change. Negotiations has to be carried on simultaneously with public opinion and with the negotiating partner. That transforms the whole nature of the process. In classical negotiations one had to create fictitious excuses in order that one's real position would appear moderate. But when your fictitious excuses are demonstrated to the public, the public enters the discussion. In democratic countries regardless, the negotiator is thus deprived of a great deal of tactical freedom because he is urged to make concessions not only by his negotiating partner but also by his own constituency. Hence, diplomacy, of course, does not labor under any such difficulty—don't negotiators are in the advantageous position of dealing with their negotiating partner and that partner's public opinion, not with their own.

**Maclean's:** What other major changes have you noted?

**Eban:** The shift to asymmetry—to put the level of negotiations higher and higher so that meetings between heads of state and government, who used to be unilateral and rare, have now become almost routine. One of the consequences is a certain erosion of the status and function of ambassadors, who are much less plenipotentiary than they used to be simply because their principals like

to enter the scene, usurping not only negotiation but also the symbolic aspects whereby nations celebrate their relationships. Some ambassadors complain that the situation has reached a point at which whenever there is a negotiation, there arrives either a president, a prime minister or a special en-

**'Ambassadors have a tendency to let prime ministers and presidents believe that they are born for diplomacy'**

vy, reducing their involvement in the negotiating process to studying the timetable whereby they come and go. Maclean's: Surely there is something to be said for the direct involvement of leaders in the negotiating process, because they are the people who ultimately have the authority to make decisive decisions.

**Eban:** There are two sides to it. Of course it is easier to reach agreement at summit because those capable of decisive decisions are there. On the other hand, ambassadors often have a deeper understanding of events in the country to which they are accredited than the usual visitor. Before the Second World War, French ambassadors were on record as warning their government that the Soviet Union was going to make a deal with Hitler. They were dismissed as lunatics. And, more recently, the British and American ambassadors in Tel Aviv were warning that the shah was not quite as stable as he was supposed to be, long before he was overthrown. Also, when all presidents and prime ministers think they were born for diplomacy, there is a tendency for ambassadors to tell them what they want to hear.

**Maclean's:** In your book you talk about multilateralism, the increased tendency toward international organizations.

**Eban:** There was always a great myth that international organization is a panacea. It is incredible to read the utopian language in which the birth of the United Nations is surrounded, as though this very agency would make alliances, balances of power and spheres of influence obsolete and nation-states would move or less relinquish their authority, including in matters of security.

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ty, is an outside agency. That was not realistic at the time, but it was extenuated with such ideological faith that international organization, which was really an instrument, became a cause. In actual fact, any movement that takes international authority beyond the nation-state has had a much harder journey than anybody imagined. In the United Nations, there is a total unwillingness to surrender national sovereignty on matters of sovereignty. If you take the European Community as a dream of a united Europe, it has now come down to an avowedly democratic approach to agricultural policy and the price of grain.

**Maclean's:** Are you optimistic that evolves toward a world community will on such other and not on the merits of the case. They look for each other in every conflict. You see it now in Central America and in Lebanon, where the Soviet role has been relatively passive and the U.S. role passive.

**Maclean's:** Is not the absence of the two superpowers with each other extremely dangerous, given their potential to destroy each other and much of the rest of the world?

**Shaw:** The general effect of nuclear weaponry, however constructive, has been to inhibit conflict, to prevent confrontation between the forces of the nuclear powers. It makes them rather nervous to start and become conflicts when they break out, to avoid escalation. So I might say that Winston Churchill's def-

Shaw: "The general effect of nuclear weaponry has been to inhibit conflict."

made progress despite the failures of the past few decades?

**Shaw:** If one takes a rather ecological view, it is almost inevitable because the nation-state is losing its relevance as an economic unit. The graying of world community is significant, but it is obviously something to be encouraged across decades and perhaps generations.

**Maclean's:** How has the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union affected international diplomacy?

**Shaw:** The two superpowers have come to tower above all others so that most of international politics seems to be a demonstration of their conflict and accommodations. Even with the rise of China and the Third World nations, and the more distant European unity, in strategic terms international politics are still bipolar. What is more, the more areas of the diplomacy of the great powers in their relations with each other. They enter Third World conflicts with an eye

injection of security—that it is the hard nucleus of power and that the world lives more by fear than by hope—is basically true. I believe that by balanced deterrence—the fact that the great powers have the same frame even if they do not have the same aspirations—they can be trusted to avoid the final madness. The fact is that 40 years have passed without any engagement between the superpowers and that all other wars have been kept under restraint in space and time. If the idea is to avoid catastrophe, then I am optimistic. If the idea is to have a stable international order, then I am rather more sober. Until such an era arrives, diplomacy has a detour task—to avoid explosion, to put out fires, to make limited settlements, partial settlements, temporary settlements, not to be contemptuous of anything that seems to delay the configuration. The job is not to offer solutions, but to offer survival. ☐



## A Niagara Falls survivor

Roger Woodward was seven years old in 1960 when, on a cloudless July 9 day, he accidentally fell over the Horseshoe Falls at Niagara, Ont., wearing only bathing trunks, sneakers and a life jacket. The Niagara Parks Commission states that four people have unintentionally gone over the falls in

a variety of wood, steel or rubber barrels and lived, but Woodward is the only known person to have gone over the formidable 176-foot-high cataract without a barrel and survived. Said Woodward, 55, a wireless salesman at office machinery who is now an associate pastor at the Central Baptist Church in Bran-

don, Wis. "For more than 20 years I asked myself why I survived, and so light has shined on with an answer."

The day of the accident Roger and his 17-year-old sister, Deanne, had gone for a boat ride with James Blomquist, 40, a friend of the father who, like him, was a carpenter working on a New York state power project. The 14-foot aluminum skiff started out five miles above the falls in calm waters that may have lulled Blomquist into making two catastrophic mistakes: he underestimated the power of the Niagara River and he overestimated the power of his 7½-hp outboard motor. About half a mile from the falls Blomquist finally realized the danger posed by the accelerating current. He tried to alter course and swing the boat broadside. But by then the boat had reached the rapids. The outboard motor hit a rock and broke—and the boat capsized, dumping the three Americans into the turbulent water.

Less than 15 feet from the great drop, two New Jersey tourists, John R. Hayes and John Quastreich, managed to haul Deanne from the current as she swept past the iron railings on the bank on which they were standing. Revell Quastreich, of Penns Grove, N.J., a sheet metal worker who says that Deanne's rescue earned him "more medals than a Soviet astronaut." "When we pulled her out, all she could say was 'What about my brother?'" But by the time Deanne was saved Roger had already gone over the falls. Revell said the boy after his rescue "I actually didn't know how near the falls I was. But I knew we were in really rough water and I thought I would die. Then, all of a sudden, it was calm. I suspect that is when I was going over. The first thing I knew I was being picked up by the Maid of the Mist—the sightseeing boat that plies the waters between the falls. Blomquist was not as fortunate as the two youngsters. A search team found his body four days later.

Soon after the accident the Woodward family transferred from the area. In 1980 Roger returned to Niagara Falls to mark the 20th anniversary of the day he made history, but Deanne Woodward-Hicks, now 41, withdrew and working as a bank receptionist in Ontario, Wis., has no desire ever to see the falls again. "It is too horrible," she said. For his part, Roger Woodward believes that he survived because "the Lord Jesus reached down into that pit of hell and saved me from eternal damnation. I realized the Lord must have a purpose for me." Woodward is convinced that part of that purpose is to exploit his survival. Said Woodward: "We did not ask to go over the falls and we have tried to reassess the integrity of the experience."

—RITA CHILDS-ROFFER in New York

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# Canada and the issue of racism

By Barbara Amiel

**I**n the summer of 1938 Hitler was putting into place the events that would lead to the Second World War. The Jewish "problem" was well in hand, and Starop's Jews were in flight, desperately looking for refuge, knocking at the doors of the Western world.

For then Canada was one goal, a sanctuary. But in Canada, far removed from the brutal trials of Hitler, life moved at a stately pace. Canada was still very much Upper Canada, with British rituals and policy dictated by civil servants over Scotch and water in the large offices inhabited by Ottawa's mandarins.

It was at this time that the man in charge of Canada's immigration policy, Frederick Charles Blair, wrote a series of letters. Portions of them are reprinted in the excellent book *Now Is The Time*, by Irving Abella and Harold Troper, which details Canada's policy toward the Jews during the Second World War. Blair's letters may have been as extreme but they were not out of the ordinary. Blair's letters may have been as extreme but they were not out of the ordinary. Blair's letters may have been as extreme but they were not out of the ordinary.

Wrote Blair: "Pressure on the part of Jewish people to get into Canada has never been greater than it is now, and I am glad to be able to add, after 25 years' experience here, that it was never as well controlled." Blair was unhappy about "intruders of their habit." He used Jews as a punchy people who could "improve their affairs better than other people... are utterly selfish in their attempts to force through a permit for the admission of relatives or friends.... They do not believe that 'we' means more than 'perhaps'."

According to Abella and Troper, that letter recalls Blair as an anti-Semite. They quote from another letter he wrote at the same time. I was interested recently to three Jewish gentlemen with whom I am well acquainted," wrote Blair, "that it might be a very good thing if they would... honestly try to answer the question of why they are so unpopular almost everywhere. If they would divert their minds of course of their habits, I am sure they could be just as popular in Canada as our Scandinavian."

The easy explanation for Blair's attitude is simply to label him a racist, a man who in the archaicness of everything we believe in. No doubt there was that in his attitude, but having said

that, is it the whole truth? Is it more evil, self-deluded bigotry that identifies itself to the timeless between groups? And if you outlaw prejudice and racist people, will that solve all the problems? In part the answer must be yes.

But to believe that is the whole problem, under education and legislation the whole answer, is to be wifely blind about the entire human experience. Historically speaking, whenever two different cultures, linguistic, religious or national groups were forced together for geographical or geopolitical reasons, the situation has been painful so long as they maintained their own strong identities. Two weeks ago in Montreal a taxi company wrote letters of dismissal to its 80 Haitian drivers on the grounds that the company was losing business because significant numbers of taxi-cab users would not tolerate black drivers. It takes only a quick historical look around the world to see the empty be-

***'Ottawa has created cultural tensions by forcing people under law to disregard the very differences it encourages'***

between the Walloons and the Flemish in Belgium, the Tatars and the Russians in the Ukraine, and so on.

Blair's letter is one of the more bizarre outbursts of hostility, the fight in Africa between the Tutsi and the Herero of Rwanda, where the Tutsi at one point decided to cut the Tutsi down to size, literally, by amputating the legs of the latter Tutsi tribe.

In Canada the government has taken actions that to some of us seem designed or at least destined to create explosive cultural tensions in this country. Our government demands, first, that Canada be a country consisting of as many cultures as possible. Then it decided to include in our immigration quotas large numbers of races and cultures as remote as people from our founding Anglo-Celtic-French groups. Thirdly, it has embarked on a program to make sure our immigrants maintain their cultural identity and separateness as much as possible forever and a day through the policy of multiculturalism. And fourthly, and most importantly, the government has urged people under the penalty of law to disregard completely in their daily lives—business

hiring, renting and selling of apartments, and so on—very different that it fosters and encourages.

Cultural self-definition is an important part of human identity. For even the most enlightened individual, his linguistic, national and cultural identity, made up of his dreams, gestures and behavior as well as a thousand and one tiny habits, are part of his essential being. Saying that a person shares in the national character of a group or country is not evil. Not every individual shares in his group's identity to the same extent—just as you can say a person is very English or very Jewish, you can say a person is barely Jewish as hardly German at all. That cultural character includes a diversity of talents and gifts, which not all groups share in the same extent. There are fewer Norwegian jazz players than one might statistically expect, fewer Prussian humorists.

These characteristics are not constant and may change over time and circumstance. The conditions that prevailed in feudal times when religious Jews, for example, to practicing non-sending when the status occupations of the time were the martial arts and agriculture, became a benefit when free enterprise emerged. Whether the Jews had these business characteristics is not really matter. That is how part of their national character was shaped. Frederick Blair did not want, was to identify certain characteristics that the Jewish national character does have, which is a perfectly legitimate thing to do. But when he declared that he would not tolerate these characteristics, he was wrong and offensive. The solution to the problems still brewing in Canada among different cultural groups is to be sure not to randomize the problem as simply one of bigotry. The government must to close its doors to those of different cultures, but should bring them in with some regard for the concepts of gradualism and assimilation, which should not be dirty words. The more distant a culture is from our own Canadian culture, the more gradual the number of people must be put in at one time. And, most importantly, our government should be preventing the idea of a Canadian identity at least as strongly as it promotes the idea of multiculturalism. That could do more for our new Canadian than distinct lands than any coercive legislation will ever achieve.

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Saskatchewan grain elevators; Gendreau rows of empty seats symbolized the Liberals' problems at the rallies

## CANADA

# The challenge in the West

By Carol Gore

Saskatoon lawyer and Liberal party organizer Douglas Richardson looked out his office window at a desolate Prairie sky and said that he wished it would snow. Explained Richardson on the eve of the party's inevitable all-candidates debate in the West: "If the weather is bad, the farmers will come in for our policy session. If it's good, they will stay in the fields and seed." It was a bawling admission of just how much hard reality has intruded on the Liberals in Saskatchewan. In fact, the 36-year-old chief organizer for John Turner in the province acknowledged that what westerners probably want most from the Liberal Party of Canada "is to get out of office in Ottawa."

Richardson's wish did not come true. The weekend of the Saskatchewan policy debate on April 29 dawned fine and bright, and a mere 800 diehard Liberals—considerably less than the party's modest target of 1,600 participants from all three Prairie provinces—gath-

ered in the city's 3,000-seat Centennial Auditorium. The rows of empty seats were a compelling reminder to the seven leadership contenders of how precarious the Liberal party's survival as a coast-to-coast political entity has become. As Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan told his fellow candidates and the audience: "I believe the West is the greatest challenge facing the Liberal party—without the West we are only half a party."

It was a somber assembly. The delegates arrived with a detailed shopping list of western concerns, and the candidates responded with earnest policy prescriptions. Turner, the leading contender, is one of his strongest and most confident performers as the campaigner, committed himself to "a new deal for Western Canada" and he pledged to end the debilitating bickering that provides relation between Ottawa and the provinces. His strongest challenger, Energy Minister Jean Chretien, outlined a distinctly different vision of a national deal, offering to put Western Canada "at the centre of decision-making"

but reserving for Ottawa the role of final arbiter in federal-provincial disputes.

Tolded, each of the candidates had his own plan to embrace the disenchanted West. Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston said he would reform Parliament in order to guarantee future western Liberal wins "real power" in Ottawa, and Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan said he would appoint a deputy prime minister in charge of fishing, forestry and agriculture. In an appeal to youth delegates, Employment Minister John Roberts said he would "connect better" with the West and he would present the party from turning into a pale imitation of Brian Mulroney's Tories. Mulroney proposed a doubling in the number of western senators to 10, and he added that he would commit a \$5-million fund to rebuild the run-down Liberal organization in the West. For his part, Indian Affairs Minister John Nantpi pledged to make the banks more sympathetic to the needs of western farmers and businessmen. When the 3½-hour session ended, the party's at-

tempts went back to their ridings talking hopefully of a Liberal rebirth in the West. But James Rana, a University of Saskatchewan economics lecturer, and a much more detached view. Said Rana: "There is too much built-up resentment in this generation for the Liberals to have a future. Given a period out of office, westerners might give them another look."

Saskatchewan Liberal Leader Ralph Gendreau acknowledged that skepticism about a Liberal resurgence in the West is widespread and that it will take more than a new national leader to dispel it. Said Gendreau: "I have always believed that what the party has to do is not simply a matter of personalities. It will not be enough for the party to enjoy the excitement from new (and June) and there assume that, presto, there is our solution. There is a lot of reaching to do." Gendreau, who has a reputation as an unshakable optimist, is convinced that the process is already under way. As evidence, he cited the 3,500 party memberships sold so far this year in Saskatchewan, compared with 2,500 for all of 1983. And in Alberta, Liberal organizers reported selling 1,500 memberships a week. But Bruce Ogilvie, president of the Young Liberals of Canada and a Saskatoon law student, said the party has some hard lessons to learn before it again earns the respect of the West. Said Ogilvie: "As a western Liberal, you grow up hearing, then echoing, the same complaint—that we are never listened to. We have become chronic complainers."

The key issue for western Liberals is selecting the party's next leader in which candidate stands the best chance of breaking that cycle of exclusion, frustration and complaint. Most Saskatchewan Liberals have clearly decided on Turner. The Toronto lawyer, Saskatchewan organizer called the support of about 65 per cent of the province's 191 delegates—an estimate more of the six other candidates seriously dispute. Although Saskatchewan is not Turner's strongest province, he is undoubtedly the favorite throughout the three Prairie provinces. In Manitoba, Turner's organizers estimate firm support from about 80 per cent of the province's 175 delegates. But even in the obvious gap in the Turner network, Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Caviness and Winnipeg's prominent Knott family—one of the most visible Liberal families in the province—are vigorous Caviness backers. And the Turner camp is also about to lose a major campaigner from some of its supporters. Paul D'Alva, co-owner of Winnipeg's St. Regis Hotel, was elected a delegate as part of a Turner slate, but he now says that he is uncertain how he will vote in October's federal session ended, the party's at-

In Alberta, where the Liberals' prospects in the next election appear bleak, Turner is in front because he is perceived as the only Liberal who can save the party from a total shakedown. Although Turner's organizers claim to have the support of 50 per cent of committed delegates, they acknowledge that there is still widespread skepticism



among delegates to endorse their loyalty to any candidate. Murray Stodolka, for one, as an organizer representing the riding of Wetaskiwin, north of Edmonton, is determinedly unconvinced. Said Stodolka: "My name was put on a Turner slate without my consent—I had never met the man." As a result, Stodolka said, all the Wetaskiwin delegates agreed to go to Ottawa uncommitted.

But the Saskatchewan policy debate appeared to reinforce Turner's front-runner position. Acknowledged Rana, lawyer and delegate Timothy Stodolka, member of Wetaskiwin's Liberal caucus. As a Turner supporter, I was worried that he would be flat. But he seemed to have found his politician's legs." And Cyril Prasse, a former representative of the riding of Saskatchewan-Liberal, said he was made up by his mind to support Turner on the basis of his performance at the debate. River Bruce Dean, 23, a youth delegate from Regina East and a committed Roberts supporter, admitted that Turner looked "less sure" and "more inexperienced" than he had anticipated.

But not all the delegates walked away from the Saskatchewan audience supporting Turner. Most of them arrived with specific policy demands, which Gendreau said reflected the outlook of western Liberals. "There is a feeling of frustration about being left out," he said. "But it can be translated into a lot of pretty standard western issues." He divided the checklist into four major areas. On the question of energy, the delegates—particularly Albertans—were looking for changes in the National Energy Program to accelerate the development of heavy oil and to encourage spin-off industries. For their part, farmers are looking for a candidate who understands that they are caught in a squeeze between rising costs for fuel, equipment and fertilizer and stagnant prices for their crops. As well, farmers want federal assistance to help them restore the fertility of their overworked land and to protect their water supply.

The West's traditional mistrust of the railways is also a lingering concern. A new leader must capitalize on that uneasiness by pledging to force the rail companies to live up to last year's commitments to provide Western Canada with a modern, efficient transportation network in return for higher grain freight rates. Westerners also want Ottawa's support to diversify their resource-based economies. It is an unlikely agenda, but all of the Liberal leadership candidates appear to recognize its importance in winning back the confidence of the disillusioned regions.

Richardson has been fighting for a Liberal rebirth in his province for more than a decade and, he said, "It has been the pipe, frankly." But he is convinced that with a new leader the party could stage a breakthrough in Saskatchewan. He quickly qualified his optimism, however. "I do not mean a big breakthrough, but at least a change of the status quo. That would be terrific." The change alternative for the Liberals could be to see their chances in Western Canada destroyed for a generation.

With Andrew Milne in Winnipeg and Gordon Leger in Calgary.

# And all Grits cheered

By Carol Gosar

**L**iberal MP Douglas Fisher reacted instantly when he heard that his party had slipped up by 14 points in the latest Gallup poll. He grabbed the phone to warn his wife, Barbara. "We just bought a new Chrysler Magic Wagon and I did not want her to have an accident when she heard the morning news," he joked. Indeed, last week's survey of party preferences among Canadian voters was astonishing.

aid Johnston fear per cent each. It showed little support for Indian Affairs Minister Jaka Munro or Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan. With the last of the 1988 delegates to the June convention being selected this week, the polling is certain to become even more intense. But Les Bruneau, a delegate to the Conservative leadership convention last June: "The only advice I have for Liberal delegates is to take it all with a grain of salt."

That was exactly the approach most

leadership hopefuls, except for a slighted Turner, wished to explain the removal in party fortunes. "It is good for me," declared Chrétien, suggesting that the poll focuses a tough fight-out in Turner's campaign—on June 18. But the Conservatives in search of a counterattack later in the week when MacQuigan unwittingly created a storm by agreeing with an interviewer that "of course I would" for Book of Canada (see Gerald Bovey). The remark, which MacQuigan first denied making, arose during a commercial break in a taped session with Global Television in Ottawa. When the network broadcast the item, MacQuigan insisted that he was only "joking around" with host Doug Brund at a



Turner (left), Chrétien: after Trudeau's decision to resign, a radically altered political landscape



commentators took to the Gallup poll, which gave the Liberals 44 per cent of voter support, the Tories 40 per cent, the New Democrats 13 per cent. Tim Awerbuch, principal secretary to Prime Minister Prime Trudeau, admitted, "I would believe a six-point Tory lead, but this is incredible." To check on the Gallup findings the government has contracted not polling to three different firms. An emboldened Clara Heston, Gallup's research director, said that she, too, had been astounded at the turnaround and had entered the leading double-checked. "We think it is correct," she said. (Gallup's margin of error is plus or minus four percentage points, 15 times out of 100.)

The perception of mounting Liberal popularity set off a new wave of speculation in the party's back rooms about a summer election. At the same time, the

time when the minister thought he was speaking privately. Opponents were assured he had brushed cabinet solidarity and called for his resignation.

For his part, Whelan has refused to cancel or delay any of his ministerial commitments because of the leadership race. Indeed, in his capacity as president of the World Pool Council, a United Nations sponsored group, Whelan scheduled the organization's annual meeting for June 11 to 14 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He will attend the meetings on June 13 and 14 (the opening day of the leadership convention) and fly back to Ottawa on June 15. Whelan's spokesman, Tom Rago, admits that the minister's absence is "a bit unusual." Rago added, "We did not quit his job." And by the end of the convention all but one of the candidates will be glad they kept their, too. ◇



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## MacGuigan on the record

**Author Minister Mark MacGuigan** is one of seven candidates in the Liberal leadership race. *Take most of the criticism behind the accomplished leaders, John Turner and Jean Chretien, MacGuigan wants to increase the number of delegates supporting him. Before the leadership contest, he met with 150 business leaders in Ottawa. In the third of a series of MacGuigan's interviews with the leadership candidates, the former law professor and now for Windsor-Wallaceville discussed the campaign and current issues with the magazine's senior editors.*

**MacGuigan:** What do you have to do between now and the convention to win? **MacGuigan:** I have to brighten my profile with the delegates. I have the advantage of being very well known by sight everywhere in Canada, but it is probably fair to say that people do not yet know what makes Mark MacGuigan tick and I hope to make that very clear in the next month.

**MacGuigan:** What do you think is the most important single issue in the campaign?

**MacGuigan:** Unemployment is the only thing that Canadians consider to be on the political agenda at the moment. After the latest Gallup poll we are now free to choose our leader, not in an atmosphere of fear, an apprehension that we might lose, but in the sense of looking for the best person. The delegates will be looking for someone who can bring their vision of the Liberal party, who can best tell about what it is going to be like to have a Liberal government for the rest of the century.

**MacGuigan:** For the rest of the century? **MacGuigan:** We are at a crossroads here. We are coming out of a recession. We have to turn in a new direction, a direction of full employment for Canadians. We can establish that goal and meet it. I do not think that we will be retarded out of office for a long time.

**MacGuigan:** What would you do to bring unemployment down?

**MacGuigan:** I would bring a program of immediate and rapid economic expansion. I see the only candidate that has said we must establish a full employment economy policy as our foremost objective. We must create what I call the creative society and we have to do that while at the same time not putting ourselves in an inflationary framework. The only way we can accomplish both these objectives, should the opportunity be by creating a radical consensus.

**MacGuigan:** Would you be more specific about economic expansion?

**MacGuigan:** There are certain government mega- and miniprojects that the government must do directly in inter-

ests, forestry and agricultural development. But most of what I envision would be accomplished by the private sector. I think of tax incentives and the availability of capital to the extent that the government can make that available from private sources. I would aim to put a priority on export industries and also at small and medium-sized businesses because that is where the greatest employment growth is possible.



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whether I would be prepared to tolerate a temporary increase in the deficit to achieve my objectives, the answer is yes.

**MacGuigan:** Do you agree with the Bank of Canada's interest rate policy?

**MacGuigan:** We cannot evaluate a return to the kind of interest rates that we had in 1982 but the sharp increases we have seen recently should not drive a government response. I do not see any likelihood of problems with interest rates in the near future.

**MacGuigan:** Should we have a common market with the United States?

**MacGuigan:** We should in selected sectors where it is clearly advantageous for us, but I would like to see for a more independent solution to our problems. There are many dangers in putting all our eggs in the American basket.

**MacGuigan:** Would Canada join the Organization of American States?

**MacGuigan:** Yes. But as a consequence of joining the OAS and becoming more active in Latin America, I see more political disagreements with the United States and more trade conflicts with them in that area.

**MacGuigan:** Would you maintain the existing network of social programs?

**MacGuigan:** I would. I do not think that we should follow the Conservative/Republican impulse to start shrinking our social programs in order to save a few million dollars here and there. But our immediate emphasis cannot be on reduction of income. It has to be on creating income.

**MacGuigan:** In 1985, when you were running for the leadership of the Ontario Liberals, you said that French should not be an official language in the province. What is your position on bilingualism for Ontario now?

**MacGuigan:** You have to remember that the other part of that statement was that there should be full provision of French services. That subsequently became the policy of the provincial government.

**MacGuigan:** Has the time come now for official bilingualism in Ontario?

**MacGuigan:** I took that position in 1976. I have taken it consistently since then. I think I provided leadership there.

**MacGuigan:** Do you stand on the issue of the cruise missile?

**MacGuigan:** I stand for reduced arms and eventual disarmament. The cruise is not where the action is in disarmament, and I would certainly live up to our obligations. What I am concerned about is the arms race.

**MacGuigan:** You are not opposed to more cruise tests?

**MacGuigan:** No, I am not. We should try to make NATO less dependent on nuclear arms and become a more even-based world alliance. But the arms race is an arms race and it is increasing in space.

## Mulroney seeks a spotlight

By Susan Riley

The Liberal leadership race, despite its sometimes lukewarm pace, has attracted the political spotlight away from the federal Conservatives—until it has now left them empty in the dark. In fact, last week Tory Leader Brian Mulroney found himself at the centre of some well-deserved attention when he was asked to comment on the Tory slide in the Gallup

At the same time, a number of highly contentious contests for Tory nominations are winning attention for the party in several cities. In Calgary last week, Mr. Mulroney, a close friend of former leader Joe Clark, survived a determined campaign by three local businessmen to take over his Calgary Centre seat. The nomination battle, held in the cavernous Stampede Corral arena, attracted thousands of new party members complete with badge bands.



Mulroney, wife, Joan, thousands of new members and an 80-90 vote margin.

poll. Mulroney dismissed the poll as an aberration, then returned to the pre-election campaign which he has been quietly waging since April 8 in Quebec last week.

Mulroney's latest success in the Eastern Townships in his own constituency predicted that the party in within 14 per centage points of catching the Conservatives in their leader's home province. Declared Mulroney: "I turn on the tube and the Liberals are electing delegates to their convention, and there are 50 people there. Rightly or Hall, we had 80 people at our meetings under the age of 6."

business, bellows and wall-to-wall, usually reserved for a major political convention.

In the end, the 48-year-old Mulroney won the nomination by a mere 15 votes. His closest rival was Rick O'Brien, a 36-year-old citizen from a prominent Calgary family. O'Brien, along with John Leckie, 46, a Calgary businessman and organizer for former Conservative leadership candidate John Crosbie, and businessman Doug Lomov, 20, a key Alberta organizer for Mulroney, all charged that Mulroney had neglected his constituency.

But Mulroney also had problems because of his involvement in Alberta. O'Brien, a Calgary-based real estate salesman who, in 1979, defamed one of the largest corporate bankruptcies in Canadian history. And, who held directorships in Alberta and related companies, turned down a position in Clark's cabinet in 1979 pending the outcome of an RCMP investigation into the company's collapse. Last month the case arose again when Alberta Attorney General Neil Crawford announced that the results of that investigation would be released on the day of the Calgary Centre nomination. The RCMP also indicated that fraud charges would be laid against some of those involved. O'Brien's opponents insisted that the charges should be made public before the nomination meeting, but Crawford denied instead to postpone the announcement until later this month. Then Mulroney, who admitted that the nomination battle was the toughest of his career, said that he is certain he will be vindicated by the RCMP report.

Two other veterans incumbent: MRC veteran Marcel Lambert in Edmonton West and Steve Korchinski from Saskatchewan's Macleod—recently lost their nominations to newcomers. In the West, where a Tory nomination is considered a virtual guarantee of a seat in Ottawa, nomination battles have often been highly charged. Now the phenomenon appears to be spreading elsewhere. This week, 48-year-old Commons veteran Michael Forestell from his first contest for the Tory nomination in Dartmouth-Halifax East since 1969. John Kern, a 38-year-old businessman, is challenging Forestell, 51. Kern claims that Forestell is using "every dirty trick and despicable means" to corrupt the nomination meeting and "to prevent his re-election. But at a recent rally Forestell benefited from an unusual display of support from the party leader. Mulroney had avoided publicly taking sides in nomination battles.

Mulroney continues to glide almost unnoticed around the country. Strategists have devised a so-called 70-day plan aimed at keeping the leader and his wife, Joan, on the road every week-end until mid-June. The next Mulroney will visit the Maritime after a weekend in Toronto. Sources say he is bracing for an election this fall. Until then he is keeping his electoral strategy and the name of the Quebec rider he plans to run in a secret. Said Mulroney in his last public appearance today that: "I'm running in such-and-such a Quebec riding, the Liberals would spend \$1 or \$2 billion there just to beat me, because with those guys anything goes."

With Gordon Legge in Calgary and Anthony Wilson-Smith in Montreal.



Churchill Falls, Newfoundland: a court decision that could be the demise of seapower.

## Losing on Churchill Falls

Premier Brian Peckford was a drawn and beaten figure as he stood in the Newfoundland legislature last week. The premier had to acknowledge that the province had suffered a second judicial setback this year in its efforts to control what it claims are its own natural resources. Declared Peckford, "It is not a very nice day for seapower in this province," referring to the unanimous Supreme Court of Canada ruling that Newfoundland cannot break its contract to sell hydroelectric power to Quebec—at 26¢ per kilowatt-hour until the year 2041. In March the same court awarded control over the Miramichi oil resources on the Grand Banks to the federal government. Even Quebec Premier René Lévesque called for negotiations on Labrador power, and angry callers jammed radio phones in St. John's to denounce the court's decision. Peckford himself echoed a theme heard frequently on the open-line programs. The decision, he said, would "blow away the flames of separatism in Newfoundland."

The court's ruling struck down a 1986 Newfoundland law allowing the province to expropriate the water power rights on the Upper Churchill River. And although Lévesque called Newfoundland's efforts to break the contract "unconscionable," he added that he is willing to continue negotiations on the contract, which broke off last March 11 after seven fruitless months. At issue are the price and other conditions of sale of almost all Churchill Falls' annual output of 5,925 megawatts. Hy-

dro-Quebec buys the power at one-tenth of market rates—three-tenths of a cent per kilowatt-hour—and resells its surplus for as much as 30 times that amount. That deal has strained Newfoundland's relations with Quebec for about 10 years, and Peckford has charged that while Newfoundland nets \$5 million from its Labrador hydroelectric operations, Quebec gains as much as \$700 million a year by reselling surplus electricity to utility companies in the northeastern United States.

When construction began on the Churchill Falls project in 1967, there was no indication that what was then the largest hydroelectric station in the world would become a symbol of government mismanagement in a government of Newfoundlanders. Indeed, then-Premier Joseph Smallwood took pride in converting Quebec to support the development plan for the \$100-million station. In return, Newfoundland awarded Hydro-Quebec the contract, allowing the company to buy at least all the Churchill power at a price equivalent to buying a barrel of oil for \$1.61 (today's price, \$26 a barrel). But there was no provision for reopening the contract, and when world

energy prices began to increase dramatically in 1973, Quebec was in a position to enjoy bargain rates on Churchill power until well into the 21st century. In 1976 Premier Frank McKenna successfully attempted to purchase 900 megawatts from the Upper Churchill in a case that will go before the Supreme Court of Canada later this year. Newfoundland's failure to realize any of the Churchill power flowing into Quebec has cost the province dearly since 1973. It has spent \$700 million building four new generating stations across the province to meet its own growing hydro needs.

In 1996, one year after Peckford came to power, the province initiated its second court battle. It passed the Water Rights Restoration Act, expropriating the water base of the Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corp. Ltd., a company that Newfoundland and Quebec jointly own. But last week the Supreme Court ruled that the takeover legislation was a thinly disguised attempt to break the power contract. In writing the judgment, Mr. Justice Wilson, McIntyre said the Newfoundland law directly affected another province, and under the Constitution provisions can only write legislation that applies within their own boundaries.

The judge went on to say that even if the judicial body sympathized with Newfoundland's case, "it is not for this court to consider the desirability of legislation from a social or economic perspective." Peckford asked the federal government to cancel the previous decision. Said Peckford, "Others should use the powers conferred upon it by the Supreme Court of Canada to give the people of Newfoundland some reasonable, just and fair returns on the investment" that the federal government interceded on the side of Quebec in the court case that ended last week and it will likely limit any future involvement in mediating the dispute between the two provinces.

For his part, Premier Peckford is beginning a purposeful and cautious court-country spending race in an attempt to win support for Newfoundland's claim to enforce oil resources. With the latest court decision, he may have additional public sympathy. But Peckford would prefer to have the bargaining power that his defense has taken from him.

—MICHAEL CULLEN/STON, with Andrew Wilson, South in Montreal.



Transit rider advanced in Vancouver a bus driver dressed as a clown.

## The 'unstrike' in Vancouver

The bus pulled up to a stop on a busy downtown Vancouver street, the doors opened—and then the passengers noticed the driver. He was wearing a rainbow-colored curly wig, a red rubber nose and a baggy red and-white striped clown suit. "Welcome to the Baco bus," he said. But the passengers sat down as if it were business as usual. In fact, it was. The calm confrontation was also one of the most ingenious examples of a union publicly promoting its case against management. The Independent Canadian Transit Union, which represents about 2,600 members in the Vancouver and Victoria areas, has for the past three months mounted a series of publicity stunts and work stoppages in a campaign to win a new three-year contract with its employer, the Metro Transit Operating Co.

The union has been without a contract since March 1993. But, rather than declaring a full-scale strike and risk losing public sympathy, union officers are waging what they call an "un-strike"—a hit-and-run tactic which keeps the dispute in the public eye.

The unstrike began in February when drivers refused to accept new work assignments that would have meant rotating to service. Then they reported to work in nonuniform clothing, which included a top hat and tails and a chin-silver lampshade.

On March 21 the union staged the first of its temporary work stoppages for a relatively harmless half-hour in mid-morning. Next came the "unfair"

play Drivers charged passengers only 25 cents of the regular 75-cent fare and had passengers sign a "pledge" to pay the remainder of the fare once the dispute was settled. Metro Transit reacted with a B.C. Supreme Court injunction quashing the unfair tactic. The union responded by staging up its campaign of temporary work stoppages. A half-hour shutdown on April 16 stranded thousands of commuters during one of the worst rainstorms of the year. Then, in a public relations ploy, the union promised to keep the buses running during the Easter weekend.

But as the campaign lengthens, so do the weather and duration of the stoppages. The union's first 30-hour shutdown was planned for May 9. And public reaction has been mixed. Some Vancouverians appreciate the fact that the union has not called a full-scale strike, but others say they want the strike to end or to be a settlement. Meanwhile, the two sides are no closer to a settlement than they were a year ago.

Relations between the two parties are now so strained that they cannot even agree on what type of mediator should be appointed. The company wants one from the provincial government's mediation branch, the union wants one whom both parties would have to agree on mutually. Until that preliminary issue is settled, neither side has indicated a willingness to back down from its position—the unstrike remains unbroken.

—PETER MCMASTIN in Vancouver

## The Tory ties to East Coast

In the speculative world of offshore oil and gas, corporate problems are commonplace. But East Coast Energy Ltd. is not an ordinary company. The proven financial difficulties of the Halifax-based firm are revealing into the highest echelons of the federal Progressive Conservative party, including senior top Tories, including party leader Brian Mulroney and two of his most trusted aides. As well, the jet-setting international entrepreneur Walter Wolf is also enmeshed in East Coast's troubles. Wolf made a \$500,000 investment in the company in December, 1992, at approximately the same time that he was launching attempts within the party to oust then-Party Leader Joe Clark.

East Coast sprang up in 1980 when there was growing optimism that drillers would discover a huge gas and oil bonanza off the Nova Scotia east coast. Frederick "Boss" Dowse, a former international entrepreneur who became Mulroney's chief of staff from his position as director of development for St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., formed the company with his brother, Gerald, a lawyer and former minister of education in the Conservative provincial government. The firm attracted an impressive list of shareholders, including Mulroney and Wolf, and 800 small investors in Nova Scotia bought shares. And the company was ideally situated to advantage of generous offshore exploration grants under the federal National Energy Program, collecting at least \$500,000 in federal funds.

But now the company is roughly \$18 million in debt and is facing a uncertain. McLeod Young Watt Ltd., a Toronto brokerage firm, is suing Wolf, hoping to recover the \$800,000 it says it loaned him to finance his East Coast stock purchases. Michael Capper, an old Nova Scotia acquaintance of Wolf's who now is his chief counsel, handled the stock transactions for Wolf. Last week lawyers for McLeod Young Watt named Capper as a co-defendant in its suit.

Mulroney and Dowse bought less than one per cent each of the total shares, and both own placed their holdings in blind trusts. Mulroney, for one, still has faith in the company. "East Coast is in a difficult shape as I understand it," he said. But Dowse, the firm's former chief executive officer, was less optimistic. Said Dowse, "The more I checked it was still troubling—but I don't know how much of it is above water."

—CAROL GOAR in Ottawa

# The high cost of CANDU

By Ian Austin

When the first stage of electricity flowed out of the Douglas Point nuclear reactor 17 years ago, officials at Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. (AECL) hailed the operation as the model for the CANDU reactor program. But last week those dreams about the \$10-million reactor 200 km northwest of Toronto came to an end. Faced with having to divert even more money to a project that has generated only

signs that shut down several of its other reactors. The closing of Douglas Point, combined with the other events, said Ontario's New Democratic leader, Robert Rae, indicates the need for a review of nuclear power "in coming in land and clear."

But any study is likely to find that the economics behind Douglas Point are unimpressive. AECL owns the plant and had paid all of its operating expenses, including the salaries of 264 workers. But Douglas Point's operator was Ontario

Hydro, which is charged for the rest of the year in shutting down the reactor. Ontario Hydro said that when that process is completed, it will have released most of the workers. But Arno Nitschberg, Hydro's executive vice-president of operations, admitted last week that some layoffs are possible—a dismal prospect in Ontario's job-starved Bruce Peninsula.

Ontario Hydro remains one of the largest producers of the CANDU reactor, but the facts, which generate about one-third of the utility's capacity, have frequently turned out to be flawed. One of the most costly problems has developed in the massive 4,000-megawatt installation in Pickering, Ont. Currently, two reactors there are shut down for three years while workers remove and replace pressure tubes. The main reason for the \$208-million repair and the resulting one-to-two-per-cent rate increases in each of the next three years is an improperly designed spring which has allowed highly radioactive fuel bundles to shift out of position. A third unit at the plant will be out of service until June for maintenance tests and last month a fourth unit was closed for about 30 days after one of its steam generators leaked. The shutdowns do not create a danger of power shortages but they are costly. The leaky transformer will cost Hydro \$5 million as it replaces the lost nuclear power with coal-generated electricity. Said Ontario Liberal David Pearson: "What we have seen in the best-planned of men and men go wrong."

Ontario power users are not the only consumers who have paid CANAD's high costs. Although outside of Ontario only consumers in Quebec and New Brunswick, where two small projects recently went into operation, benefit directly, AECL estimates that Canadians from every province have paid about \$1 billion in taxes into the program. Paul O'Neill, AECL corporate executive vice-

president, argues that that amount is offset by approximately \$5 billion that consumers save because using nuclear power to generate electricity is cheaper than burning coal, most of which Ontario buys from U.S. mines. But a leading nuclear industry critic with Energy Probe, a private research foundation, Norman Robins, says Hydro's claims are exaggerated. Robins adds that CANDU has received a national subsidy of about \$5.4 billion, an amount he believes offers many Canadian little benefit. Said Robins: "This a taxpayer outside of Ontario and it is not clear what these people are getting for their money. Ontario has really put one over on the federal government."

Ontario has tried to persuade other provinces to enter the nuclear generating business with attractive construction subsidies, but it is unlikely that they will accept. Indeed, a 56-page Nuclear Industry Review that the federal energy department released two years ago concluded that there is essentially no market for the CANDU in Canada. Quebec, which opened its gas reactor station, Gentilly II, last year, has little interest in further projects. It fits its domestic and export needs easily with the water-powered turbines in its man-made James Bay project. And New Brunswick was only able to maintain its reactor at Point Lepreau by exporting a third of its capacity to these New England utilities.

AECL's export success is even more unpredictable. So far, it has sold reactors to Argentina, Romania, South Korea, Pakistan and India. But AECL's only current sales prospect is a single reactor sale to Turkey. And AECL's proposal—a joint venture involving a secret technology exchange with South Korea—faces competition from the United States and West Germany. Not only that, but last month Turkey extended its deadline for proposal submission indefinitely, indicating that no purchase will be made in the near future. Acknowledged AECL spokesman Mike Kellor: "We are not selling reactors. We are selling technology. There are not a lot of prospects."

And AECL also admits that its last sale—a \$2-billion, two-reactor project at Chernobyl in Romania—was unsuccessful. The problem: Romania has insisted on paying for its CANDU with

offsetting trade rather than cash. Said Kellor: "Anyone would agree that it is not the best way to do business, but if it is doing that or not doing business at all, you have to work with the market."

Ontario's desire to protect the 25,000 jobs in the nuclear industry was one of the major reasons for accepting the proposal. But Robins argues that ultimately the transaction may cut—rather than create—Canadian jobs. He says: "By being willing to take trade or offset hedges, we are willing to do away with what is surely a larger number of jobs in other Canadian industries." In the deal with Romania each of the Canadian-based contractors for the project (AECL, firms out most of the manufacturing work on CANDU) to private companies will make individual agreements with Romania to trade their reactor parts for Romanian merchandise.

The Canadian suppliers, in turn, will have to sell those goods in Canada. But much of the goods that will enter the Canadian market will likely be labor-intensive goods such as farm machinery, shoes and wine, and Canadian producers of competing products already have financial difficulties. "There is just about no domestic industry in which \$1 billion worth of goods comes as little equipment as building a reactor," says Robins. "We import \$1 billion worth of inexpensive tractors, we can't usually wipe out Massey-Ferguson."

For his part, Robins is one of many who argue that the best thing AECL can do to prevent its collapse and the resulting loss of jobs is to get Canadian firms to place their resources into developing new technologies for decommissioning shut-down reactors, such as Douglas Point, the disposal of radioactive waste and other areas where there is no spreading operating reactors in Canada and abroad. Kellor says AECL is "scrutinizing to dig up any kind of business," but he rejects the suggestion that many new technologies could be developed in the field that Energy Probe wants. He says: "We are not sure that the company's fortunes will improve after the world economy strengthens. Said Kellor: "The question is, are we going to get enough business to keep a team together. Well, then to answer, you need a crystal ball."

## A showdown of the giants

The one-on-one punch would have seemed a lesser option than the International Business Machines, the world's largest computer manufacturer IBM had to admit to a shareholders' meeting in Los Angeles last week that sales of its PCP have collapsed, launched last winter, had failed in time to live up to the company's expectations. Then, European Community officials in Brussels revealed that a four-year-old antitrust investigation into IBM's business practices has found that IBM should be dismantled possibly by trying to lessen its competition in the southeast.

The investigation by EC officials into IBM's affairs started in 1988 after competitors complained that IBM withheld essential technical information on its microframe computers until they appeared on the market. That delay did not leave European manufacturers with enough time to construct auxiliary products that will be compatible with the IBM machines. The EC claims that IBM's policies favor the company's competition rules by forcing purchasers of IBM computers to buy compatible equipment from IBM alone. The EC has repeatedly asked the U.S. to ask to discontinue specifications for its new products the month after IBM announces them. But IBM has refused the request. Said a corporate spokesman in Paris last week: "That would be tantamount to letting our toughest European and Japanese competitors peek at our drawing board."

But EC officials rejected IBM's argument and appeared poised to rein in IBM's European operations in June with an adverse ruling on the company's secrecy policies. Unless IBM challenges the verdict, it is expected to become effective by midsummer, leaving IBM to face the threat of an injunction to make early disclosures of its product specifications and, possibly, a heavy fine. Still, IBM officials in Brussels have made it clear that they will challenge any adverse EC ruling in the European Court, a tactic that would likely delay the case for months or even years.

EC officials insisted last week that in trying to curb IBM they are not attempting to limit the company's growth, which is estimated \$10 billion in Europe. But it was clear that any crackdown on the giant could only provide a significant competitive advantage for Europe's homegrown computer industry.

—FRANK LUTZ in Brussels



Douglas Point: 'the question is, are we going to get enough business to keep a team together?'

issues from the start, AECL shut down the reactor and began the \$100-million task of closing it permanently.

The shutdown of Douglas Point, which AECL previously estimated would be in operation until 1995, took place during a troubled time for the Crown-owned nuclear energy corporation. Waning interest in Canada and a worldwide lull in nuclear power plant construction have severely damaged sales prospects for the multinational-dollar CANDU program. At the same time, AECL's widely promoted reactor technology suffered a humiliating setback when its biggest customer—Ontario Hydro—announced that it faces costly repairs and the loss of millions of dollars worth of electricity because of a de-

signer fault that shut down several of its other reactors. The closing of Douglas Point, combined with the other events, said Ontario's New Democratic leader, Robert Rae, indicates the need for a review of nuclear power "in coming in land and clear."

In the short term the Douglas Point closure will have little immediate impact on the plant's workers. They will

be employed for the rest of the year in shutting down the reactor. Ontario Hydro said that when that process is completed, it will have released most of the workers. But Arno Nitschberg, Hydro's executive vice-president of operations, admitted last week that some layoffs are possible—a dismal prospect in Ontario's job-starved Bruce Peninsula.

Ontario Hydro remains one of the largest producers of the CANDU reactor, but the facts, which generate about one-third of the utility's capacity, have frequently turned out to be flawed. One of the most costly problems has developed in the massive 4,000-megawatt installation in Pickering, Ont. Currently, two reactors there are shut down for three years while workers remove and replace pressure tubes. The main reason for the \$208-million repair and the resulting one-to-two-per-cent rate increases in each of the next three years is an improperly designed spring which has allowed highly radioactive fuel bundles to shift out of position. A third unit at the plant will be out of service until June for maintenance tests and last month a fourth unit was closed for about 30 days after one of its steam generators leaked. The shutdowns do not create a danger of power shortages but they are costly. The leaky transformer will cost Hydro \$5 million as it replaces the lost nuclear power with coal-generated electricity. Said Ontario Liberal David Pearson: "What we have seen in the best-planned of men and men go wrong."

Ontario power users are not the only consumers who have paid CANAD's high costs. Although outside of Ontario only consumers in Quebec and New Brunswick, where two small projects recently went into operation, benefit directly, AECL estimates that Canadians from every province have paid about \$1 billion in taxes into the program. Paul O'Neill, AECL corporate executive vice-



Robins: better costs jobs

president, argues that that amount is offset by approximately \$5 billion that consumers save because using nuclear power to generate electricity is cheaper than burning coal, most of which Ontario buys from U.S. mines. But a leading nuclear industry critic with Energy Probe, a private research foundation, Norman Robins, says Hydro's claims are exaggerated. Robins adds that CANDU has received a national subsidy of about \$5.4 billion, an amount he believes offers many Canadian little benefit. Said Robins: "This a taxpayer outside of Ontario and it is not clear what these people are getting for their money. Ontario has really put one over on the federal government."

Ontario has tried to persuade other provinces to enter the nuclear generating business with attractive construction subsidies, but it is unlikely that they will accept. Indeed, a 56-page Nuclear Industry Review that the federal energy department released two years ago concluded that there is essentially no market for the CANDU in Canada. Quebec, which opened its gas reactor station, Gentilly II, last year, has little interest in further projects. It fits its domestic and export needs easily with the water-powered turbines in its man-made James Bay project. And New Brunswick was only able to maintain its reactor at Point Lepreau by exporting a third of its capacity to these New England utilities.

AECL's export success is even more unpredictable. So far, it has sold reactors to Argentina, Romania, South Korea, Pakistan and India. But AECL's only current sales prospect is a single reactor sale to Turkey. And AECL's proposal—a joint venture involving a secret technology exchange with South Korea—faces competition from the United States and West Germany. Not only that, but last month Turkey extended its deadline for proposal submission indefinitely, indicating that no purchase will be made in the near future. Acknowledged AECL spokesman Mike Kellor: "We are not selling reactors. We are selling technology. There are not a lot of prospects."

And AECL also admits that its last sale—a \$2-billion, two-reactor project at Chernobyl in Romania—was unsuccessful. The problem: Romania has insisted on paying for its CANDU with



## Money woes at de Havilland

**S**enator Jack Austin was former. "It is a great example of Canadian self-immolation," he declared. The reason for his anger: The *Globe and Mail* of Toronto had obtained a secret cabinet document on the financial affairs of Crown-owned de Havilland Aircraft of Canada Ltd. The document predicted further losses of \$313 million by 1988, along with major layoffs, and it called for more government subsidies for the founding firm. Denouncing the disclosure of the strategic document as "a Godsend for de Havilland's competitors," Austin, the minister responsible for the Canadian Development Investment Corp (CDIC), which owns the ailing aerospace company, requested an "investigation into the affair."

The disclosure of the report was the second shock for Austin last week. Earlier, Revenue Minister Fernand Robitaille revealed in the Commons that the government paid \$325,000 in bonuses to 12 de Havilland executives to ensure that they would remain with the company. Opposition politicians said that the managers of the company should have been fired, not rewarded.

The latest revelations created a political uproar over the government's handling of Toronto-based de Havilland. Ottawa has already pumped \$500 million into the company since the fall of 1982. The *Globe* commented later in April 1985 outlined the need for subsidies from agencies such as the Export Development Corp. It stated that without that aid de Havilland would have little chance of selling its new line of turboprop aircraft. Although the government has argued that continued support for de Havilland helps to protect high-technology jobs, the document said that the company will seek wage concessions from its 3,500 employees and reduce its work force by one-third by 1988. As well, it suggested that the Ontario government could financially support the company's export sales. In fact, Austin had a meeting with Ontario Treasurer Larry Grossman last week to discuss the issue.

The leak of the strategy paper raised the issue of how much secrecy should surround the financial plans of the firm, or indeed of any Crown corporation. In the past, federal Auditor General Kenneth Dye is called for increased accountability of Crown-owned firms. But Austin said the exposure of the company's plans last week only served to damage its public image. Said Austin: "Customers don't want to buy a political aircraft." —ANNE WALSHLEY



Peppermint production in China: the crop failure may signal the end of cheap mint

## The problem with peppermint

**T**he fortunes of peppermint—the perennial herb used to manufacture digestive sweets, liqueurs, skin balms and flavor everything from chewing gum to toothpaste—have become an litmus test as the taste. After devastating weather conditions sharply reduced last year's crops in China and Brazil, South American manufacturers who depend on peppermint oil products are anticipating a 500-ton worldwide shortage in 1985—and that could mean increased costs for consumers buying their favorite candy or mouthwash. The shortfall has caused prices for menthol to soar from \$4 a pound last year to as much as \$18 a pound now.

Peppermint dealers say that the crop failure may signal the end of cheap mint flavoring. Most consumers rely on China as the prime supplier of menthol crystals—a compound produced by distilling peppermint oil from the dried leaves and then freezing out its menthol content. In 1983 Canada imported 12,000 lb of menthol directly from China and another 28,000 lb from the United States, which is also a major producer. Traders contend that the Chinese and Brazilian variety, called *arvensis*, is superior.

Until 1976, Brazil dominated the world market for aromatic herb products, was shattered by Chinese price-cutting. Then floods destroyed two-thirds of Brazil's harvest in 1983 leaving China as virtually the only large supplier for the world market. But it, too, suffered a major setback last year when drought followed by a flood of the

Yangtze River almost destroyed the nation's annual 3,000-ton output.

Traders now say that China might not be able to fulfill its contracts. Shipping delays have already begun to hurt the digestive industry, the largest single consumer of menthol. Tobacco companies account for 35 per cent of the 1,000 tons that the United States imports every year. In Canada, Imperial Tobacco's menthol purchaser, Larry Peterson, said that his company's menthol reserves would allow it to continue production uninterrupted. But at least one major U.S. tobacco company is already scrambling for supplies, according to a New York peppermint broker. Warner-Lambert Canada Inc. says that it is confident that it will receive the menthol it has contracted for from China to meet its needs for 1984. But if future contracts are unfulfilled it could jeopardize the production of some goods. According to purchaser Elizabeth McQuinn, "We could not make Listerine antiseptic and Listermint without it."

Should the 1984 Chinese crop also fail, market experts predict that speculators who bought up stocks of menthol as the price rose will find willing buyers. Still, Jerry Seaman, president of New York-based Irving R. Rooty & Co., the world's largest menthol importers, contends that even speculative stocks and exports from other menthol-producing countries could not meet world demand in the face of another season of drought in China. Said Seaman: "There it could be a real crunch." —ANNE WALSHLEY

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## The odds against the dollar

In London the Bank of England watched nervously as the pound fell to a record low of \$1.36 (13.5). In Tokyo money lenders hastily tried to sell enough yen to meet the demand for dollars. And in Bonn the West German mark hit its lowest level against the U.S. currency since mid-February. The cause of the turmoil was a worldwide surge in the strength of the U.S. dollar against most other major currencies.

The widespread expectation that interest rates will continue to rise in the United States, making dollar-denominated investments even more attractive, seemed a reasonable bet for U.S. funds. But anxiety over the upsurge—which abated at week's end—was greatest in Canada, where policymakers watched the Canadian dollar fall to as low as 77.1 cents—the farthest the currency has dropped since it hit a record low of 56.8 cents in June, 1982. The slide was stopped only by heavy dollar-buying by the Bank of Canada. It lifted the free-floating bank rate to 11.13 per cent from 10.88 per cent—the highest level in 18 months.

The surprisingly sharp increase immediately led to predictions of matching rate increases for consumer and corporate loans as well as mortgages, which have already risen recently. In the Commons, Conservative Economic critic John Gosselin warned of an overall increase in rates, but Finance Minister Marc Lalonde declared that Canadians should not panic. Canada, he said, is not facing "the kind of interest rate rise we have known in 1980 and 1981."

Even before last week's increase in the bank rate, the second major surge in less than two months, the Bank of Canada tried to shore up the weak dollar by less painful means. When the bank's international reserve figures were released last week, they revealed that it had spent about \$1.9 billion (U.S.) in the past six months to buy up Canadian funds and support the dollar's value.

But several factors complicated that move to make that effort insufficient. For one thing, the dollar's unpopularity reflected investors' concerns about the general sluggishness of the Canadian economy. Said Rodrick Fowler, manager of foreign exchange for Wood Gundy Ltd. in Toronto: "The rate of economic recovery that was anticipated at the beginning of the year has not materialized." Indeed, in February the economy experienced sharp falls in housing starts, exports, manufacturing orders and retail sales.

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Still, financial experts put most of the blame for the dollar's slide on the high level of U.S. interest rates. The prime lending rate in Canada has roiled at 11.5 per cent since March, but the rate in the United States has climbed to 12 per cent. Added Fowler: "The higher returns south of the border have meant that investors have been getting rid of their Canadian dollars to buy American. You cannot argue against profit."

Analysts contend that the central bank has little choice but to raise interest rates—even if it threatens the economic recovery. Said Rodrick Fowler, a senior vice-president of Bellbar Investment Co., who trades at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange: "Unfortunately, Canada is in the position where it has to keep its rates moving in the same direction as the United States if it wants to attract investors." Financial experts are still convinced that sustained growth in the United States will lead the Federal Reserve Board—the equivalent of a central bank—to raise interest rates higher to prevent renewed inflation. "There is no doubt that there is a very bleak view of interest rates in the United States just now," said Fowler. If inflation increases in the United States, Fowler added, "interest rates would be pushed up even further. That would be unfortunate for our neighbors." —BRYAN MCKAY

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# The fall of a high-tech star

By Ann Finkelson

For the versatile Mitel Corp. the report marked a strong downturn in the high-tying firm's performance. Last week the telecommunications company, which since its launch 11 years ago, has become one of North America's fastest-growing companies, recorded its first annual loss. Company spokesmen blamed the \$32.4-million fiscal 1984 deficit on Mitel's heavy investment in research and development and losses on "obsolete and over-inventories." Then they downplayed the significance of the results and insisted that Mitel's long-term future is sound. Said chief operating officer Donald Gibbs: "While we have not totally turned the corner, we look at the past two years of bad news as a glitch, a hiccup in the short history of a company that can only continue to grow."

Most leading analysts agreed that Mitel's problems are largely a result of difficulties experienced during the rapid transformation from a bootstrap operation into an international high-tech competitor. Those difficulties included plant overcapacity, design problems with key products and marketing delays. As the problems became apparent, overseas investors lost confidence in the firm's shares. From a high of \$45 in mid-1981, the stock plunged to a record low of \$6.35 on April 10, and it has stayed in that range. Last week, some investors seemed reassured by management statements that the company is now poised for renewed growth. The share price rose marginally to close at \$9.12.

Both investors and analysts have watched the company's meteoric rise since its founding in 1973 in Lexington, Mass., and national pride. By its own calculations, Mitel, which is based in Kenilworth, 30 km west of Ottawa, boasted "30 as 15" millionaires in its first five years. The company's chairman co-founders, Terence Matthews and Michael Cowland, boasted as little as two years ago that Mitel was virtually recession-proof and they predicted that its annual sales would exceed \$1 billion by 1985. And, in fact, Mitel's revenues more than doubled every year from 1979 until 1982, when they hit \$255 million. In an ambitious diversification program, the company established manufacturing plants in 11 countries on three continents—and sales branches in 34 more—employing nearly 6,000 workers. A host of new products for Mitel products appeared in Europe, and it promised to become even more attractive as the European Community liberalized its trade policies for telecommunications products. Mitel was also well placed in the race to sell

private phone exchanges after the court-ordered breakup of the U.S. phone giant, American Telephone & Telegraph Co., in January.

But increasing competition from slower moving but ultimately powerful telecommunications giants, such as International Business Machines Corp. (IBM) and Northern Telecom Ltd., combined with production delays, finally slowed Mitel's spirited growth. In fiscal



Gibbs, the end of two years of setbacks.

1983, revenues increased by only 30 per cent. In response the company began a severe austerity program. It shelved plans to market Skywatch, a satellite communications program, and concentrated its major efforts on the 30-2000, an integrated telephone and computer data system that routes telephone calls and electronic data to individual terminals. Then, last May, Mitel announced that it would close a Burlington, Vt., manufacturing plant that employs 156

workers. It also announced 246 layoffs at three other U.S. Mitel plants. These setbacks were followed in June by the collapse of an agreement between Mitel and its developing markets, the 30-2000, 304, apparently worried about production delays, abandoned Mitel in favor of NOLM Corp., a California company which produces similar switching equipment.

The personal fortunes of Mitel executives also suffered. In February Cowland sold nearly 700,000 shares in the company at a loss, a transaction that further weakened the stock's already fading lustre on stock exchanges. Then, in March, Cowland had to sell another 243 million shares. The reason Cowland had pledged the shares as security on loans designed to prop up another technology company, Systemhouse Ltd. of Ottawa. When the value of the pledged Mitel shares dropped so low that they became insufficient to support the loan, Cowland had to sell them to pay off the banks.

Last month Mitel announced a second round of cutbacks, including 60 layoffs at its Kenilworth headquarters and the proposed restructuring of Mitel International, its money-losing Irish subsidiary. Company spokesmen said that Mitel is negotiating with private Irish investors and the plant's management to create a new company in which Mitel would maintain only a minority interest. As well, the company has completed negotiations to sell off a \$20-million plant under construction in Burlington, N.B., to another, undisclosed high-tech company.

The company's position indeed appears to be improving. Mitel began shipments of the 30-2000 in January after more than a year's delay. At the same time, company officials have announced plans to cut back on research and development spending and they have reorganized plant operations to control spending. Mitel has also released details of a new private exchange system called, appropriately, the Battleline, and an electronic telephone system called Supernet 3. "We still have the technology, no doubt about that," said Gibbs, "but for now that old cliché is absolutely accurate: Reports of our death were greatly exaggerated." High-tech analyst Arner Macdonald, of Toronto's Brown Baldwin Niker Ltd., agreed with that assessment. But he added that an even greater overhaul is needed to restore Mitel's once-glorious reputation with investors. Said Macdonald: "The company's development work was letting expensive, lightbulb management men move and look very carefully at their overhead—and just get out there and sell." Mitel has demonstrated many times that it has the ability to do just that. □

## BUSINESS WATCH

# The power of big business

By Peter C. Newman

Canada's business community, which has traditionally shied away from political involvement outside of backroom fundraising, is about to launch a powerful bid to influence the results of the next federal election.

The opening salvo was a recent speech to the Board of Trade Club in Toronto by Tom D'Aquino, president of the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI). "By acting as a collective 'behind,'" he declared, "we can do a long way toward influencing issues."

Nothing unusual about that, except that D'Aquino then went on to spell out precisely what he wants—and what the BCNI wants, it usually gets. The group is a blue-ribbon collage of Canada's 160 most prominent chief executive officers, who represent \$280 billion in assets. The BCNI's influence extends far beyond its \$30-million annual budget because the corporate leaders who form its membership seem fully back on national views or involvement. The council first demonstrated its clout by pressuring the Trudeau government to maintain its 30-and-five smoke restaurants as a voluntary, instead of a mandatory, program. D'Aquino, who was born in Trinidad, held three degrees and spent nearly four years as special assistant to Prime Minister Trudeau, has become a potent figure among Ottawa decision-makers. The reputation he and his wife, Susan, have built works in the Privy Council Office at their shophouse home built over McKay Lake in Rockville Park are among the capital's most impressive power grabbers.

What D'Aquino has set out as the business community's minimum demands from the next Prime Minister goes beyond the generalities most business associations have floundered in preparation for previous election campaigns. "We see two million voters," he announced. "Whether we had from big business or small, independent business or single proprietors—we are bound together by certain shared values."

If the BCNI's membership is demanding from the next Prime Minister is a measure cut in our nation's deficit. "Canadians who argue that deficit doesn't matter," D'Aquino says, "are living in a dream world and are the real enemies of the Canadian people. Defining precisely which actions of government

spending should be cut is the current assignment of my mind." D'Aquino, D'Aquino's president, Barry McKelough. Among D'Aquino's fiscal suggestions are reducing inflation to two per cent per year and, not surprisingly, further weakening the Foreign Investment Review Agency, though that headstrong force has little left except to irritate. D'Aquino strongly condemns the



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D'Aquino: "influencing issues"

trend toward mixed private and public enterprise, which he previously addressed in Canada's economy. "We are largely to blame," he admits, sounding like a born-again capitalist, "because so many of these moves by governments have been legitimized with our tacit consent. Let's be more wary of the dangers of public sector imperialism."

D'Aquino wants his two million followers to vote for politicians who "believe in limited government" and "before the defeat of those with 'statist' attitudes," whom they may be. D'Aquino's message is clear: D'Aquino really means it. His executive

committee contains such luminaries of the business, as Ron Fraser, chairman of the Royal Bank, Jens de Grandpre, who is chairman of Bell Canada. Enterprise now controls the country's largest corporate capital pool, Peter Gordon, chairman of Nielsen, and Gordon Fisher, president of Southern Inc.

It's easy to guess that the BCNI's task force will recommend a retreat from social welfare "universality." Paying hefty benefits only to those who need them would reduce federal spending by \$2 billion overnight. D'Aquino also wants to reform Parliament so that deputy ministers are directly accountable to its committees for the administration of their departments, and by having an elected Senate.

Two areas of immediate concern that demonstrated the BCNI's clout have been D'Aquino's exclusion as co-chairman of Ottawa's newly established Canadian Labor Market and Productivity Centre and his failure on the current provisions of the competition bill currently slithering through Parliament's legislative mills. A first task force, chaired by William F. Melrose (a director at Canada Packers), worked closely with unions and corporate officials to break the impasse that kept big business and the ministers who presided July 1984 at loggerheads during the past 15 years. The new amendments don't go very far, but at least they'll change anticompetition legislation which has earned a reputation as the most ineffectual in the free world. There are still no provisions for class action suits, and companies remain difficult to prove, but the battle was indeed in the revenues for the first time (as in Crown corporations), and by moving proceedings from criminal to civil courts, convictions should be easier to obtain. This may well be the only antitrust legislation in the history of this country that has been blessed in advance by the very people it is designed to police.

But the fact that the competition bill really does have more teeth than before signals D'Aquino's success in persuading its members of his conviction that to influence in public policy consultations businessmen must move beyond their blinkered bottom-line ethic. And that, in turn, could mean that the next Prime Minister of Canada will move into office with the phorbic big business lobby counted among his constituents.



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## **The PACs elude control**



*The Republicans' Gensberger: the groups could determine the election's outcome*

**T**he U.S. Supreme Court last week took a decision that could make this year's presidential campaign the most expensive in U.S. history. The justices postponed—at least until after November's vote—any ruling on an obscure 1974 law designed to limit campaign contributions by major lobby groups. The disputed law, which lower courts have already declared void, limits gifts to presidential campaigns by Political Action Committees (PACs) to \$1,000. Without a Supreme Court ruling, however, there will not be a final this year, and a storm of cash is sure to flow—the bulk of it to support President Ronald Reagan's re-election.

The postponement was a sharp setback for the Democratic party, which had brought suit to curb spending by wealthy conservative PACs even while the party's leading presidential candidates traded charges about taking similar funds. Sen. Anita Dunn, a spokeswoman for the Democratic National Committee. "The financial rearming of the Democratic party will continue this year." Conservatives, however, were jubilant. Rold Craig Shirley, press chief of the National Conservative Political Action

Committee (NCPAC), a principal target of the Democrats' suit: "We are going to spend at least \$6 million supporting Ronald Reagan and at least \$2 million opposing Walter Mondale." Overall, conservative PACs have pledged to spend as much as \$20 million for Reagan this year, and that figure may rise.

Independent PAC spending has all but derided the intent of the 1974 Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act, designed to prevent the sort of financial scandals that marred former president Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. In theory, the law provides each major party candidate with federal funds—\$20.4 million in 1980—and limits their spending to that total. But in 1980, according to the bipartisan lobbying group Common Cause, independent PACs spent \$12.2 million to support Reagan's campaign. By contrast, former president Jimmy Carter's independent support was a meagre \$46,000.

The only real limit on such spending is a stipulation that there must be no "coincidence" between a PAC and a candidate's "official" campaign. But politically wise PAC directors need only read news reports and carefully pub-

*Next, targeting Democrats*



fished polls to calculate where their favored presidential candidate needs support. And the Democrats' Durr. "We are not opposed to a group of citizens who want to buy a billboard. Our objection is to massive spending from groups that are only nominally 'independent' of the candidates they are working for."

Spokesmen for large conservative PACs counter that curbing an spending violate their constitutional rights. Arguing NCPAC's Shirley "Free speech is not just a matter of saying what you want but spending your money for what you want." Besides, he added, the Democrats draw huge sums of money from labor union PACs plus available help from union organizers.

Spending by, and controversy over, PACs is fast becoming a major political issue. PACs, which any corporation, union, trade or ideological group can form, have multiplied five times in the past decade to more than 3,500 this year. And PAC spending, too, has soared—to \$190 million in the 1991-92 election cycle from \$73.4 million in 1977-78.

The prime impact is not on presidential races but on Capitol Hill. For congressmen and senators, access to PAC money has become crucial as the costs of campaigns rise. Fuelled by ever-larger PAC donations—most of them to incumbents of either party that the PACs consider likely to win—spending on an average congressional campaign soared to \$300,000 in 1982 from \$60,000 in 1974. Close House races cut spark for higher spending, as legislators far out in the conservative Senate. Minnesota Republican Senator David Durenberger, for one, raised more than \$1 million from PACs for his 1982 race against a Democratic challenger, Mark Dayton.

Public awareness of the real or perceived conflicts of interest that PACs inevitably create may be limiting the appeal of PAC money. Democratic presidential hopefuls Gary Hart and Walter Mondale have promised not to accept such funds for their presidential races. Mondale's charged two weeks ago that Mondale had permitted PACs to fund some "independent" delegates who were backing him forced Mondale to again reject PAC support last week.

"The PAC system," charged Common Cause president Pini Wertheimer, "is a corrupt system. It is a veritable national scandal totally undermining the integrity of Congress." A bill to curb PAC spending and to give individuals longer time windows for direct contributions to candidates has the support of 130 senators and congressmen out of the congressional total of 535. It may reach a vote next year. Meanwhile, 1994's election may well be shaped by an ever-swelling tide of PACs' cash.

LENNY GUYTON is New York



Israel's bus destroyed by bomb blast, suffering a landslide in dealing with terrorism

ISRAEL.

## Cracking down on terrorists

In June, 1983, car bombs severely injured two prominent Arab mayors in the Israeli-occupied West Bank towns of Nablus and Ramat al-Khalil. At the time, there were indications that Jewish terrorists—a group that most Israelis believed had disappeared after the state was established in 1948—were responsible. Over the next four years similar incidents took place sporadically, but the Israeli authorities did not make any arrests. Then, last week, in a swift crackdown, police rounded up about 20 prominent Jews in settlements on the West Bank and the Golan Heights. The authorities refused to reveal their prisoners' identities, but several apparently held public positions. Said a shocked cabinet source after a cabinet briefing on the affair: "I have heard names that are as well-known in the Knesset as they are in the settlements."

The immediate reason for the police sweep was the security authorities' discovery on April 22 of a plot to blow up a fleet of Arab buses, which could have caused hundreds of deaths. The apparent motive a reprisal for the hijacking of an Israeli bus in Tel Aviv last month and the consequent deaths of an Israeli woman soldier with seven others injured. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that the police had prevented a "catastrophe" which would

have caused "tremendous damage to the state and its interests." But government critics claimed that the operation was also intended to avenge murders that the Israeli authorities used different standards in dealing with Arab and Jewish terrorism.

Those concerns, which the cases of the West Bank mayors first raised, were revived in February with the release of a justice ministry report that Assistant Attorney General Judith Karp had prepared. The report, which took so long to reach the cabinet that Karp bitterly resigned in protest, sharply criticized Israeli law enforcement procedures for dealing with Arab victims in the occupied territories. One witness cited in the Karp report said that senior security officials in the occupied territories gave Israeli settlers the impression that they enjoyed a privileged quasi-military status. Some legal and political sources in Jerusalem said that the release of the potentially explosive report indicated a further modification of government policy—a process that has been under way since Shimon Peres replaced Menachem Begin as prime minister in October, 1983, and Moshe Arens replaced Ariel Sharon as Israel's defence minister. In other related moves, police made several arrests in connection with the murder of an 11-year-old Arab schoolgirl last year and

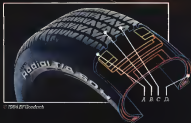
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attacks on Arab property in Nablia. Still, government critics, including Opposition Labor Party Knesset member Yosef Shalev, speculated that a large, well-organized Jewish underground, closely connected with the Gush Etzion extremist settlement movement, was active at the West Bank. Last week's events seemed to bear out that theory simply. Sources close to the investigation said that deep-cover agents had been operating inside Gush Etzion for more than two years. Said one source: "We had hoped for a few more months of investigation, but when we learned that they had planned a mass murder we knew we had to act."

That notion of events appeared to cast doubt on the theory that Begin had failed to push ahead with inquiries into crimes committed against Arabs. And a former co-ordinator of Israeli policy in the occupied territories, retired Brigadier Benjamin Ben-Eliaser, claimed last week that the former prime minister had several times spoken on the investigation of the major case. Still, political insiders speculated that Gush Etzion's aggressive leadership of the settlement movement, although sometimes an embarrassment to officials, had made it a difficult target for a government that tried to avoid too much premature vigorous expansion of West Bank settlements. Indeed, Shalev sharply criticized the Opposition Labor Party last week for allegedly exploiting the arrests to "smell the character of the settlement movement in Judea, Samaria (the West Bank) and the Golan Heights." Shalev also said that "this splendid exercise will continue."

As well, the alleged terrorist network clearly had been difficult for the authorities to penetrate. Israeli security sources said the organization had a "classic underground structure" with a tightly knit system of cells in which full information was carefully restricted. But information gleaned was extensive and potentially damning. Police said that two of those arrested had received training with explosives. They also claimed to have succeeded in luring some of their prisoners to an April 11 bus bombing on a highway—the bombs were timed to explode with maximum effect during the afternoon rush hour—and even to last summer's attack on the Itanana college and the 1980 kidnapping of the two mayors. But even if those claims prove to be justified, the affair is unlikely to end there. Security sources said that deep-cover agents are continuing their attempts to break down the network's elaborate protective cell structure. And they forecast that if the operations are successful, a new wave of arrests, which will be highly sensitive politically, could follow — DAVID BROMBERG in Jerusalem.

INDIA

## Death in sacred causes

For six weeks, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government had snarled the nation that smouldered in the troubled northern state of Punjab was improving. Internecine fighting between Sikh extremists campaigning for greater autonomy and the state's Hindu minority had resulted in more than 200 deaths in the past six months, but Gandhi said repeatedly that the situation was under control. To that end, she sent a succession of ministers to the state, including her own son, Rajiv, to pledge that tighter security would soon lead to a peaceful resolution

headquarters for Sikh extremists, led by the fiery and defiant holy man, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. Indeed, Bhindranwale is rapidly gaining support at Langowala's expense, a fact which may explain the previously moderate Akali Dal president's new military in defense of the striver's sanctity. Last week, 175 more Akali Dal members defected to Bhindranwale's ranks. As a result, Gandhi's chances of negotiating a settlement are slight.

At the same time, the strife is accelerating the rich farming state's economic decline. The wheat harvest is



Mourners at the funeral of a Hindu slain by Sikh extremists' uncontrolled violence

of the soil. Then, last week, during a visit by Home Minister P.C. Sethi, the region exploded into a savage new outbreak of fighting.

The battle erupted following the assassination of Atar Singh, a local Hindu leader of Gandhi's Congress Party. Frustrated Hindus want to see a strong, law-abiding government, and security forces arrested 200 people. Then Hardesh Singh Langowala, president of the Sikhs' Akali Dal party, threatened to order suicide squads to liberate shrines which security forces have occupied in an attempt to starve out Sikh terrorists who have taken sanctuary there.

Despite New Delhi's claims of improved intelligence reporting on terrorist activities in the Punjab, a solution to the long-term political dispute now seems more remote than ever. In the Sikh holy city of Amritsar, the hallowed Golden Temple remains an inselot

about to begin, but there is a crippling shortage of migrant workers. The workers, who are essential in harvesting, are frightened of becoming targets of Sikh attacks. As well, the pervasive fear of violence has severely affected industrial and business interests. Still one Sikh textile and carpet maker: "Our major customers from outside the Punjab are not coming anymore. They prefer to buy more expensively in Delhi."

There are also indications that the violence may lead to an exodus from the state. Indeed, in Amritsar, a dirty village 15 km from Amritsar, half of the 10 Hindu families have already fled. Chander Sharma, for one, a local Hindu doctor, said that he will soon join them. "No peaceful process can solve this problem," he declared. "I am getting my papers." —ERIC SILVER in New Delhi.

## Assessing the Reagan visit



Children celebrate the Reagan visit in Shanghai, putting him on the defensive

The Soviet news agency, TASS, nicknamed the visit "the Peking miracle." And when President Reagan began his home-land tour with his five-day assignment in China, his supporters as well as his critics saw it as the first important engagement of his re-election campaign. Indeed, aides claimed that Reagan's performance in the People's Republic had successfully countered his reputation as a leader who cannot deal with Communist governments. As Reagan himself declared during a stopover in Fairbanks, Alaska, where he met Pope John Paul II, who was on route to South Korea, "I am anti-Communist but I have never thought that it was necessary for us to impose our form of government on some other country."

For his Chinese hosts, the results of the trip were more ambiguous. Although the New China News Agency described the president's visit as a "significant step forward" in smoothing good relations, Chinese leaders guarded Reagan's invitation to join him in condemning what he described as Soviet expansionism. Instead, the Chinese leaders issued an unusually direct criticism of U.S. foreign policy in Central America. Still, the two countries expressed similar views on one important foreign policy issue: the need to heal 30 years of enmity between North and South Korea.

in an attempt to head off reprisals the United States tried to initiate talks between the two Koreas using China, traditionally an ally of North Korea, as a mediator. The U.S. efforts appeared to have produced concrete results. Last week Chinese Communist party General Secretary Hu Yaobang flew to Pyongyang to brief Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who had accompanied Reagan to Peking, carried out a parallel mission in Seoul.

In January Kim announced that his country would be willing to attend three-way talks with Washington and Seoul. Pyongyang also proposed a federation linking the north and south. Both the United States and Japan have supported the North Korean initiative. Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone urged Seoul to participate in the discussions when he visited South Korea in March. But Seoul has held out for direct talks with the north, an attitude that Shultz attempted to modify.

Apart from the Korean initiative, Reagan's China visit raised the prospect of several trade agreements. They included a treaty to end American double taxation of U.S. firms doing business in China and an agreement to allow the Chinese greater access to U.S. nuclear technology. But ideological disputes marred the agreements. In a speech that the Chinese later censured in national broadcasts, Reagan attacked his Communist hosts on the virtues of free enterprise. Most analysts suggested that he was attacking the Chinese economic march down the road of capitalism had embarrassed his hosts, particularly the progressive, pro-Western Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader. They suggested that Reagan's speech might also have done as the definitive against hardline traditionalists within the Communist party hierarchy who are opposed to economic reforms and greater contact with the West.

But the most contentious issue still splitting the Americans and Chinese is that of Taiwan. Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang said that continuing disagreements over the future of Taiwan are still likely to "infect a major setback on relations." At the same time, the Chinese remain committed to negotiating a middle course between the superpowers. Indeed, White House officials predicted that Peking would attempt to distance itself from Washington during a visit to China next week by a high-level Soviet delegation. Still, the possibility of movement on the Korean issue, together with the flattering television images of the president waving to friendly Chinese crowds, satisfied White House officials who were delighted by Reagan's re-election in November.

—WILLIAM LOH in Peking

## MEXICO

## The visit of a needy friend



De la Madrid in Mexico City, providing a strong argument for greater co-operation

Since he took office 17 months ago, Mexico President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado has been preoccupied with resolving his nation's severe domestic crisis. One of his gravest challenges has been to reduce Mexico's staggering \$80-billion foreign debt. The president's draconian austerity measures, including a 30-per-cent devaluation of the peso and a sharp curbing of imports, have begun to ease the problem, and this week he makes his first appearance on the international stage outside of Latin America—a three-day official visit to Ottawa. Still, the continuing debt crisis was expected to dominate his talks with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Admitted as official in Mexico City last week "The Mexican economy quite definitely is not out of the woods."

De la Madrid planned to arrive in Ottawa with a list of bilateral proposals designed to improve Mexico's balance of payments. The Mexicans contend that the level of their nation's exports will govern its ability to pay back its debts to lending nations—including Canada. As a result, de la Madrid was prepared to urge Ottawa to increase its imports of Mexican goods, despite a trade deficit with Mexico last year of \$675 million. As well, Commerce and Industry Minister Hector Hernandez said he would seek more Canadian investment to lessen his country's dependence on the United States, which accounts for 70

per cent of all foreign investment in Mexico. For their part, Ottawa officials pledged support for de la Madrid's economic policies, partly because Mexico owes Canadian funds \$8 billion and partly because Canada, like Mexico, wants to lessen U.S. economic influence.

Another topic on the agenda was the crisis in Central America. Mexico has adopted a policy of noninterference, based on the principle that the crisis has its roots in social and economic factors and not in Soviet-U.S. interference, as Washington maintains. Diplomats said that Trudeau would express his full support for the so-called Centralists group, composed of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama. The group has drawn up a regional plan for promoting peace in the region.

But de la Madrid will hear a different point of view from President Ronald Reagan in Washington, the next stop on his itinerary. According to one Mexico City-based diplomat, de la Madrid is still in a weak bargaining position because of his economic problems. "After all, it was the United States that helped Mexico out of the height of its crisis," he said. Still, some observers contend that the leverage Washington exerts over the Mexican and Canadian economies could provide the strongest argument for greater co-operation between Ottawa and Mexico City.

—BOB BUCHANAN in Mexico City

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Body of Iranian soldier in a foxhole near the front: a brutal, backward war marked by an astonishingly high casualty toll

## COVER

# THE CHILD WARRIORS

By Ross Lerner

**T**he French-built Iraqi Super Attended fighter-bomber approached its target at a speed of about 576 mph. High above the Persian Gulf the jet's radar locked onto an Iranian warship as the vessel steamed an Iraqi port. When the warplane was within a 40-mile radius of its quarry, the pilot programmed the ship's range and bearing into a computerized Ejector 38 missile launcher. fired the weapon and turned for home. Then the attack missile's sophisticated guidance system took over. Travelling at just less than the speed of sound, the French-built Ejector streaked to the water's surface and sliced three yards above the waves on the way to its destination. About four minutes after launching, the missile destroyed its target. Neither Iraq nor Iran—which never admits any attacks on its vessels—would estimate the casualties.

With devastating precision Iraq

fighter pilots last week stopped up their country's three-month campaign to disrupt shipping in the vital Persian Gulf oil lanes through which 50 per cent of the non-Communist world's crude petroleum passes. But as the war between the two states intensifies, Iran's numerical strength on land increasingly balances Iraq's unquestioned superiority in the air and on the sea. Along the 1,180-km common border Iran has mobilized an estimated 600,000 troops—many thousands of whom are inexperienced schoolboys—for what some diplomats in Baghdad believe will be a massive offensive to capture the Iraqi city of Basra, the country's only seaport on the gulf, and occupy part of the strategic highway to Baghdad. At the same time, there are indications that Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, 54, may be exploring ways to end the 44-month-old struggle, which some military analysts compare with the First World War because of its brutal, backward nature and its astonishingly high casualty toll. All previous attempts to negotiate a

settlement have foundered on Khomeini's insistence that Iraq President Saddam Hussein, 47, step down. But recently the speaker of the Iranian Majlis (parliament), Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, has spoken of reparations as a basic peace condition without also demanding Hussein's overthrow. **Pressing:** Indeed, the prospect of an eventual peace agreement may be the reason that Khomeini has so far declined to launch a "final" offensive. Arab diplomatic sources claim that there is now a major debate in Tehran about whether to launch the long-threatened Persian offensive, codenamed Dawn Six. In one camp the military clinics who helped bring the ayatollah to power are pressing for an all-out march on Baghdad, which would eliminate Khomeini's secular and secularist government. But the army hierarchy is reacting to the cleric's pressure, insisting that the war's root in men and machines is already too high. Senior military officials are also concerned that if the troops failed to break



Khomeini: two young Iranian captives in Baghdad: a treacherous fate but comforting guarantee of a martyr's place in heaven

through Iraq's defences, Tehran's bargaining position at any future peace talks would be weakened.

Such fears may be justified not only because Iraq's army possesses firepower that the Iranians cannot match but also because of the possibility of battle weariness among Iran's ragtag, fervently religious forces. One of the most troubling aspects of the endless war of attrition has been the staggering cost in human lives—especially the lives of Iran's underage but fanatical boy soldiers. Gulf war statistics about casualties and the ages of those killed are notoriously unreliable. But Western analysts contend that

with sickle or jumping on them. Not surprisingly, Tehran's streets are filled with boys in wheelchairs, on crutches or without legs. One of the more fortunate soldiers, Yashdikh Karubi, 18, wearing runers and a red headband, proclaimed, "I am a soldier of Allah." He said that he had fought at the front twice and that he was preparing to go again. And Jafar Javahri, 18, said he signed up because "It is my duty to fight for Islam."

**Martyrs:** Western diplomats in Tehran are sharply divided on whether the tide of young recruits is a result of coercion or genuine revolutionary zeal.

Officially, military service in Iran is compulsory at age 18, but Khomeini himself has encouraged younger recruits to sign up by suggesting that those who join the fighting become heroes of the revolution and martyrs for Islam. Indeed, about 45 per cent of Iran's 62 million citizens are 14 or under, and many of them display a passionate loyalty to Khomeini. The martyrs' families also benefit, aside from the glory, parents who lose their sons in the war qualify

for "martyr's cards," entitling them to extra food rations and other privileges. Many of the boys come from poor villages or shanty families, where men orphans who have no place else to go.

Still, Iranian authorities deny that the child warriors exist. Although there is no Geneva convention on the acceptable age of a soldier, the United Nations Subcommittee on Human Rights issued a scathing report last September that called on Iran to stop recruiting children. The ayatollah responded with an angry note to the subcommittee that said Iran "categorically rejects suppression that the use of children in its armed forces is an established practice or one that is encouraged by it."

Even the evidence of hundreds of Iranian teenagers in Iraq's prisoner-of-war camps does not inhibit the details. Tehran officials say the Iranian children held by Iraq—according to the UN-Swedish International Committee of the Red Cross, there are more than 750 of them under 18—were among thousands of civilians deported by Iraqi authorities in the early stage of the war.

**Abuses:** A powerful resistance to the war would solve that problem and many others, including the West's anxieties over its oil supplies. Until recently, all-important nations could take comfort from the fact that supplies have continued to flow. Then, two months ago, Hussein sent waves of alarm through

Khomeini under pressure



North America, Western Europe and Britain by threatening an attack on Kuwait Island, Iraq's supposed co-sponsoring twinning. Should he carry out the threat, Khameini has pledged that Iran will retaliate by blockading the 30-mile-wide Strait of Hormuz, through which nearly two million barrels of crude oil from South Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait and Iran are shipped each day. That, in turn, would relieve a major strategic goal for Hussein by forcing the United States to abandon its neutral stance in the Gulf despite its interests against Iran to protect supplies (page 68). But most analysts say that Tehran probably could not enforce the blockade for long, in part because Iran itself would suffer a heavy financial loss if oil shipments to the West were cut off. Iraq, too, is wary of acting precipitously. Its warplanes have repeatedly striven ships sailing to and from the Iranian port of Bandar Khomeini, but so far they have not seized Kuwait Island's oil lines. Said Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz: "We will reach the result by accumulation. Every day that passes, our ability to hit Iranian interests will improve."

Each side in the conflict has kept the extent of its armaments secret, but it is clear that the war has ended a heavy price. What is often called the "forgotten war," the struggle has claimed as many as 150,000 Iraqi lives, according to diplomatic observers, and perhaps twice as many Iranians.

**Naivete:** Both sides attempt to justify the carnage by pointing to a higher purpose. To Iran the war forms part of a sacred mission to export revolution until an Islamic empire, guided by the Koran, stretches from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. The mullahs see in Hussein all that they despise: a secular leader of a Muslim population. Hussein is also a Sunni Muslim in a country that is 66-percent Shi'ite—the dominant sect in Iraq. As Khameini told his followers earlier this year: "We are fighting for our religion now, not for territory. The day the war ends we shall embrace the whole Iraqi nation with open arms and with a smile, and we shall no longer have any conflict with them."

For its part, Iraq proclaims itself the frontline nation in a conflict that endures the entire 30-country Arab league, despite the war as Hussein, Saddam, and his followers have in an oil-rich Iraq which Arabs triumphed over superior numbers of Persians. A longtime socialist, Hussein and his Ba'ath Party are convinced that the region's future lies in modernization and they are concerned that Khameini's fundamentalism will spread to the

Shi'ites who make up the bulk of the labor force in Iraq's oilfields. That is a fear that several neighboring oil states share, particularly Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, whose leaders bristle at Khameini's repeated exhortations to the Shi'ites to rise up and overthrow the "U.S. lackeys" in the Gulf. "There is no way to deal with Iran," declared Hassan

since being joined by 24 others, including the United States, Egypt, Britain and Italy. France alone has supplied Baghdad with \$5 billion worth of arms since 1980, including the Super Étendard fighters, missile-armed helicopters and Roland surface-to-air missiles.

At the same time, Iraq is now buying weapons from such politically disparate countries as North and South Korea, Saudi Arabia and Taiwan. Many of those shipments reach Iraq through private arms dealers via convoluted routes. The United States, for example, is supplying Iran with arms through private dealers and via Israel, the Stockholm Times states. The Israelis are doing the same through Libya, Syria and the Warsaw Pact countries. Still, there is little doubt that Iraq has an advantage in military equipment. As well as having better tanks, mortars and more modern small arms, Baghdad has air superiority. About 400 of its warplanes are still in working condition. Iraq, by comparison, now has only about 75 usable aircraft and relatively few anti-aircraft weapons, according to Western sources.

**Contrasts:** Correspondents who have travelled to the frontlines and Iraqi fronts say that the contrast between the two nations' fighting styles is remarkable. Ever since a June, 1982, revolt by Iraqi forces back to their borders, Baghdad has concentrated on what its armed forces do best—digging in at defensive positions and snuffing the Iranian ground force. For the most critical battleground is the southwestern

reaches of the marshes that surround Basra. There, the Iraqis have dug an elaborate series of bunkers in a man-made, 50-foot-thick wall of dirt that surrounds the entire marsh area. Further back, anti-aircraft guns and armored troops are concentrated, and ahead small watchtowers rise from the water, giving the soldiers, equipped with infrared night-vision lenses, a clear view of any moving movement in

the vast marshes. "They (Iraqis) surprise us, even at night. We always know what they are planning," said a colonel.

Compared with the Iraqis, the Iranians are poorly positioned and badly equipped in order to strike at their enemies. Iranian troops armed only with rifles and grenades must come down from the mountainous areas of Mesopotamia and Deland in Iraq and cross a wide plain before reaching their side of the marshes. The terrain is flat and exposed, and the Iraqis have been forced to resort to "human wave" tactics in which thousands of young death-in-glory martyrs race on foot across Iraq's well-guarded minefields in an attempt to overwhelm the defenders by sheer force of numbers. The result, invariably, is a gruesome slaughter. Bodies of Islamic Revolutionary Guards, bloated and grey, still float in the muddy waters of the marsh, grim reminders of Iran's most recent sacrifice in late February and early March.

**Contrasts:** The most perplexing issue is why, with their superiority in modern arms, the Iraqis have been unable to vanquish their Iranian foes. The answer, military analysts say, is that Iraq's one million troops are both badly trained and poorly motivated. Modified on the Soviet military system, the army is highly centralized, and its commanders tend to make difficult decisions back to Baghdad. As a result, the soldiers show little initiative and they seldom do more than they are ordered to do. At the same time, the officers have settled into a comfortable, often lazy routine. Their bunkers, even those within a kilometer or two of the front, are well-garnished and equipped with such novelties as television sets and cassettes, cigarettes and clean sheets, also plentiful.

By contrast, Iran's forces appear greatly inspired by Islamic ideology. Battle operations are code-named after people and events from Muslim history, and the soldiers share the duty

morning parades by recalling the military exploits of Islam's founder, the prophet Mohammed, 1,400 years ago. "We have become heroic and human because we have become Islamic," Col. Sayid Shahr, commander of the Iranian armed forces, told Moslem's in a rare interview.

To symbolize the army's transforma-



Iraqi troops in trenches, disappointed with the war's course

tion, the 40-year-old commander does not wear medals or ribbons on his crumpled fatigues. Nobility stands up or salutes when he enters a room because Shayan prefers to be received by the traditional Islamic greeting of Salam—along with a hug or a kiss on the cheek. "There is no superior or inferior among Muslims," he said, saying with his prayer beads. The army's infectious enthusiasm makes recruiting relatively

easy. From their vantage point in Washington, U.S. intelligence officers have recently spread reports of a weakening Iranian resolve to continue the war. U.S. intelligence sources also claim that Revolutionary Guards have been visiting secondary schools and universities in Iraq, ordering them to fill compulsory military service quotas. At the same time, the mullahs are appealing for volunteers for the front, according to U.S. military sources.

But recent visitors to Tehran contradict those interpretations. At the regular Friday morning prayers at Tehran's Ummayyad mosque, more than 100,000 people gathered to cheer Khomeini, perhaps the second most powerful man in Iran, in a declaration of readiness to go to battle for their Islamic republic. Among those raising his fist was Mohammed Akbari, 27, who lost all movement in his right leg after being caught in a bomb blast on the southwestern front last year. "I want them to cut off my leg," he said. "I can then go back to the front—and do something."

Iran's use of child soldiers has provided international controversy. Boys who survive the doomed human-wave attacks only to fall into Iraqi hands become pawns in a different sort of war—a psychological battle waged for the benefit of world opinion. Some graphic accounts speak of prisoners of Islamic militia traveling the Iranian countryside empowered to draft disgraced young boys into military service. Often rejected in groups of 10 to prevent the frightened from deserting, the boys are supposedly issued mental "cure to heaven" which they wear around their necks as talismans in case they are killed as the holy war against Iraq.

However, many such reports sprang from Iranian exile sources in Europe. Among those are such confirmed opponents of Khomeini's Islamic revolutionary government as the Paris-based Mojaheddin, a Marxist group that failed in an attempt to wrest power from Khomeini after the fall of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi in 1979.

**Reveries:** Indeed, as unsettling as the idea may be to Western sensibilities, the Iraqi reality probably is that many of Iran's young recruits fully welcome death in the service of Islam. "It was modernism," said Michael Rod of Terre des Hommes, a Swiss-based charity and humanitarian organization, who visited Iraq's 40-year-old Baghdad in December. "Death," they said, "was their supreme reward. They said they were eager to return home so they would resume fighting the Iraqis."

Iraq too has earned international opprobrium—over its use of poison gas. For months Iranian soldiers suffering

Iranian women parading with weapons; anti-heroes



AP Wirephoto



Irak prisoners of war: Islamic revolutionary fervor and a willingness to die

## COVER

from blistered skin, lacerations and other tissue had been found in hospitals in Sweden, Austria and Britain. But the evidence of gas being used was circumstantial, and in a stream of statements Iraqi officials insisted that the charges were fabricated by Iraq to excuse its military defeats. Then, on March 21, a UN-sponsored team of four independent specialists who had toured Iranian hospitals and the war zone declared there was conclusive evidence that Iraq was using mustard gas and the nerve agent Tabun in its attacks.

Many analysts contend that Hussein's use of poison gas reflects a growing desperation over the course of the war. Iraq, whose 14 million citizens are estimated to live by Iraq, has gradually been forced to surrender large sections of territory to enemy forces, including a 280-square-mile area in the northern sector near Halj Urman. An even more strategic loss was that of Majnoon for "the crazy one"), a man-made island in the southern Al-Farash marshlands whose strategic oil field contains seven billion barrels of known crude-oil reserves.

**Contradictions:** Other claims of military victory or defeat are often difficult to verify. Both countries constantly accuse Western journalists from the battlefield, leaving them to sort through official communications that are notoriously vague and frequently contradictory. When the authorities do invite reporters to the front, they place strict controls on their movements.

The propaganda war also takes the form of rival broadcasts, in Arabic or Persian, aimed at supporting morale at home while warning down the opposi-

tion. Television programming in Baghdad alternates between lengthy, unedited film of the eastern front battles and footage of long lineups of Iraqi deserting gold jewelry and rare family heirlooms to "the cause." Broadcasts beamed at Tehran focus on the small, ragged remains of Iranian youth who died in doomed "suicide" assaults.

On the other side, Islamic associations daily expound the struggle to revolt against Hussein's Ba'athist government. So far, Iraq's efforts to stir up dissent among Iraq's 4.4 million Shi'ites have been unsuccessful. But a recent series of attacks by underground groups on state-controlled TV and radio stations, air force offices and the internal security headquarters may indicate that the tactic is finally bearing fruit.

The war has tapped both countries' economies, but Iraq has clearly suffered most. Soon after the onset of the war Iraq destroyed Iraq's main oil facilities at Fao. Then, almost two years later, Syria came to Iraq's defense by turning off the valve on Iraq's major pipeline, which crosses Syrian territory on its way to the Mediterranean. The result of both actions has been to rob Iraq of oil exports from three million barrels a day before the war to the current level of only one million barrels. Striking by filling

oil prices, Iraq has managed to wage the war without any financial assistance. Despite the length of the struggle, Tehran has paid off its foreign debt, which, at its peak in 1976, was \$7.4 billion, and its foreign reserves are now roughly \$7 billion. In Tehran, a city of eight million people, 800 km from the fighting, there are shortages of soap, sugar, shortening and some other essentials, but no one is starving. Stores are bulging with imports, smuggled in across the Persian Gulf from the shadow of Dubai. "Life is tough, very tough," said Mohammad Afshar, 32, a small-businessman. "But we manage. We have it."

Still, there are signs that an artificial sentiment is building in both countries. Iraq recently toned down some of its demands for a peace settlement, although the Islamic Revolutionary Republic is still insisting officially that Hussein's resignation is fundamental to any political settlement. Khameini himself is receiving envoys from Algeria, whose French-educated foreign minister, Tahib Brahimi, is prodding shuttle diplomacy as an attempt to encourage formal negotiations between the two belligerents. At the same time, there is a growing consensus throughout the Arab world that Hussein will eventually have to sacrifice himself for peace. For more than a year various Arab governments have been quietly discussing an alternative leader who would not change the balance of power or Iraq's policy direction.

In the end, the war may be decided simply by which leader can hang on longer. Khameini, an 64-year-old recluse with a serious heart condition, or Hussein, whose own allies are worried that a prolonged continuation of the war could seriously destabilize the region. When either one of them dies or is overthrown, an intermediary such as Algeria could quickly bring about peace.

With Ian Mather in London, Robin Wright in Amman, William Lonsdale in Washington and correspondents' reports from the various battlefronts.

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# BEST OF TASTE



**BEEFEATER: Spirit of England**

## COVER

# Khomeini's grip on a Western lifeline

The threat is awesome and, if it is ever carried out, the result would be chaos for most of the world's oil-importing countries. During its 44-month war with Iraq, the Iranian government has said repeatedly that if Baghdad provides it, it will close the Persian Gulf to shipping. That would cut off 50 per cent of the oil supply to the non-Communist world. And although Japan, the United States and European countries have developed contingency plans to cope with an oil crisis, even a temporary disruption in the Persian Gulf could trigger panic and hoarding, resulting in soaring prices and shortages of gasoline and heating fuel.

**Implications:** Middle East experts are divided about Iran's ability to carry out its threat. But even an attempt would have serious implications for North America and other Western oil-importing regions. The oil shocks of the 1970s are still remembered clearly by hundreds of thousands of motorists who had to line up for hours at service stations. But even more serious is the prospect of the United States being drawn into the Iran-Iraq war. Washington has pledged to intervene should Iran close the Persian Gulf—a commitment that President Ronald Reagan underscored last February. While the downstream scenarios of energy shortages and world conflict loom, Western nations and Japan are building up secret oil stockpiles. And owners of the supertankers that haul petroleum from the war zone are paying high insurance rates, which consumers will ultimately have to absorb and which are unprecedented since the 1968 Pelindaba Islands conflict.

To carry out its threat, Iran would have to be capable of keeping oil tankers out of the Strait of Hormuz. That passage, 65 miles across at its widest point, links the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of

Oman. Iran could either place mines in the strait or simply shell tankers as they try to pass through it. But any such action would force Washington to retaliate. A White House source close to the U.S. National Security Council said last week that any attempt by Iran to disrupt shipping would be short-lived. "If they put down mines," he said, "our

strategy to cut off oil shipments. Shapour Hantari, a Middle East specialist at the Georgetown Center for Foreign and International Studies in Washington, said the U.S. warships are a powerful deterrent to any impulsive moves by Iran. Still, Hantari added that the presence of French, British and U.S. warships indicates that Western leaders feel Iran is entirely unpredictable.

**Precautions:** Many other nations share that uncertainty. Saudi Arabia, which exports most of its crude oil through the strait, is taking extraordinary precautions. The Saudis have established floating stockpiles of roughly 80 million barrels of oil in supertankers at sea near Japan and other Far Eastern customers. In the past two years the Saudis have also built a pipeline connecting their oilfields to the Red Sea. The pipeline now carries only 600,000 barrels of oil a day, but it can handle 1.6 million barrels daily in an emergency. Japan, which imports two million barrels of oil a day through the Strait of Hormuz, has an emergency stockpile, which would last for 120 days with no additional deliveries. And many European countries require oil companies to store at least enough oil to last 90 days.

The United States and Canada import only about two per cent of their oil from the Persian Gulf area, but that is enough to cause major difficulties if a disruption occurred. Said Donald Gaziano, a senior adviser at Standard Oil Co. of California. "If tankers are sunk or Iran were to attempt to close the Strait of Hormuz, there is no question it would wreak havoc in the oil markets. I would not be surprised to see oil prices double again under this kind of situation." For his part, Alfred O. Mosk, manager of foreign affairs for Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, declared, "The problem just are looking at it is not physical, but psycho-



Kharg Island oilfield disruption could cause panic and hoarding

logic—newspapers would soon pick them up. If they started firing at ships with shore artillery, we would accompany the ships and blast them back, with air support if necessary."

Indeed, there is evidence that the West is deeply concerned about Iran's threat. As early as 30 U.S. warships now patrol the Arabian Sea near the entrance to the Strait of Hormuz. Britain and France also have frigates and destroyers nearby. Some experts say that the strong Western naval presence would make Iran hesitate before at-

logical." Prices would rise because of panic, not because of an actual shortage of supply, he contended. Added Munk: "There is no way you could interrupt supplies from the Persian Gulf long enough to make a significant impact."

Consumers Oil, insurance and consumers are not alone in their concerns. Insurance companies willing to undertake the risks of war are particularly alarmed. Lloyd's of London, the world's largest insurance underwriter, has doubled its rates for ship and cargo coverage in the war zone since the beginning of March. To insure a supertanker



Iraqis reaping score with dual missiles; helmets claim of mustard gas confirmed

and 300,000 tons of crude oil for just two weeks now costs at least \$1.5 million, and a major oil insurance broker in New York and Stanley John, a spokesman for Lloyd's, said that if the conflict intensifies, the rates will go higher. John said that Lloyd's now is charging 1.5 per cent of a ship's insured value for coverage in the Persian Gulf war zone. For cargo the rate is 0.75 per cent of the insured value. Still, Lloyd's considered the Falklands conflict an even greater risk. Said John: "For about a day and a half or two days we were charging four per cent to insure ships in the Falklands zone." And motorists and other private consumers have no way to insure themselves against the steep price rises that an Iranian assault on traffic in the strait would almost certainly cause. —LESTER JOHNSON, with William Lovett in Washington

## The steps to destruction

When Iraqi President Saddam Hussein started the war on Iran by ordering his M16-41 and M16-25 fighter-bombers to strike at Iranian airports on Sept. 22, 1980, he expected a quick, inexpensive victory. Hussein calculated that the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini had not consolidated his 20-month oil revolution and would offer little resistance. At first that gamble seemed to succeed. Iraqi troops quickly seized major Iranian towns and oil installations. But

news said reports that Iran is building a several-hundred-thousand-strong army behind the front. Hussein offers peace talks. Khomeini responds with this condition: Iran to receive half of Iran. Baghdad must pay \$150 billion in reparations, and Hussein and his advisers met stood trial before Islamic court. Hussein rejects the terms.

Sept. 27, 1980: Iran deploys 50,000 men in a successful attempt to recapture the port of Ahwaz.

March 20, 1981: Iran launches the second major offensive around the city of Desfal, about 200 km north of Ahwaz. One million men fight on both sides, and Iraq claims for the first time that Iranians are using boys and old men in battle.

April 10, 1982: Iran persuades Syria to cut Iraq's pipeline to the Mediterranean, severely restricting Baghdad's oil exports.

July 12, 1982: Using human-wave tactics, an estimated 80,000 Iranian troops force the Iraqi army to retreat along almost the entire front. In the south, Iranian troops cross the border and move toward the Iraqi port of Basra. But the cost is high. Iranian casualties are estimated at 50,000 in one week.

Feb. 7, 1983: The largest battle of the war opens with each side deploying about 300,000 men. Iraqis balk an Iranian offensive southward. Baghdad short of the vital Basra-Baghdad highway.

Oct. 5, 1983: France delivers Escort missiles to Iraq, a preview to the subsequent provision of five Super Standard fighter-bombers to fire down Iraq threatens to close the gulf if Iraq uses Escorts and to block 20 per cent of the West's oil supplies. The United States, Britain and France move warships to the mouth of the gulf to keep sea lanes open.

Nov. 8, 1983: Iran claims that Iraq is using mustard gas. Medical teams in European hospitals, to which Iran sends casualties for treatment, subsequently confirm the claims.

Feb. 16, 1984: Iran launches the fifth major offensive of the war. Iranians capture Majnoon Island, an oilfield, and advance toward Basra. But Iraq strikes back, and Iranian casualties are massive.

March 4, 1984: Iraq claims to have bombed tankers north of Kharg Island, Iran's major oil terminal, damaging several ships. But U.S. oil experts say that, despite the attacks, Iran has doubled exports through Kharg to three million barrels a day. —WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington

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"J.C." Phillips  
Chairman of the Board, Gulf Canada Limited

Only about two cents of each dollar Gulf Canada received last year were paid in dividends to shareholders here and in other countries. Of the \$5.3 billion in total revenues only \$66 million left the country as dividends to foreign shareholders, and \$34 million were paid to Canadian shareholders.

Employee wages, salaries and benefits accounted for more than \$450 million. And we spent almost \$750 million on capital and exploration expenditures.

It cost approximately \$2.7 billion (including petroleum compensation charges collected by the federal government) to buy crude oil products, and other materials.

Although our country is temporarily self-sufficient in energy, Canada still spends more than \$3 billion a year to buy crude oil from other countries. If Canada were truly oil self-sufficient, all this money could go into the Canadian economy, and we would no longer be at the mercy of foreign oil suppliers.



J.C. Phillips

Here is how Gulf Canada used the \$5.3 billion which was the total amount we received in 1983.

## 1. Production, Manufacturing and Distribution Costs

Production, pipelines, refining, delivery to dealers and marketing cost \$1.2 billion dollars. Of this, almost \$750 million went for an almost endless list of utilities, materials, supplies and equipment, commissions, insurance and other services. Across Canada, Gulf employee costs, including benefits, amounted to over \$450 million. From midroom staff to president and chairman of the board, Gulf's run in Canada by Canadians.

There are 9,700 people directly on the Gulf payroll. About three

times this number — in service stations, farm centres, independent agents and distributors, as well as in supplier companies — earn their living as a result of Gulf Canada activities.



In spite of cutbacks necessitated by the National Energy Programme and the deep recession, Gulf Canada at the end of 1983 had about 8,700 Canadian employees who received wages, salaries and benefits of over \$450 million during the year.

## 2. Exploration

In 1983 the corporation's expenses in searching for oil, gas and other forms of energy amounted to \$213 million. About half of this went into frontier exploration in the Arctic Islands, wells in the Beaufort Sea, drilling off Canada's east coast, including the promising Hibernia area on the Grand Banks east of Newfoundland. The balance was spent on exploration in Western Canada, where Gulf is one of the most active drillers.

## 3. Crude Oil, Product and Merchandise Purchases

To meet the demands of our industrial, commercial and individual customers we refine much more crude oil than our wells produce.



More than 2,300 Gulf dealers and licensees are independent businesses who sell Gulf products. In addition, Gulf Canada directly operates about 150 service stations for "stand on" operating experience in key locations across Canada.

Most of this extra crude (together with product and merchandise purchases) is bought from other Canadian sources — approximately \$2.6 billion worth, (including petroleum compensation charges collected by the federal government). However, we still had to buy from other countries about 6% of the crude oil we processed, at a cost of \$128 million.

## 4. Taxes

Federal and provincial taxes totalled \$600 million in 1983, of which \$71 million were recorded as deferred taxes. Not included are \$347 million in taxes paid under the Energy Administration Act. In addition, Gulf collected \$494 million in gasoline, fuel, excise and export taxes for the federal and provincial governments.

## 5. Shareholder Dividends

In 1983, Gulf Canada shareholders in Canada and other countries

received dividends amounting to approximately 2% of the corporation's total revenues.



This man-made pond, part of the perimeter landscaping of Gulf's Clarkson Refinery, 35 kilometres west of Toronto, is a favorite landing spot for geese and ducks. The landscaping was designed by Hough, Stansbury & Associates Limited of Toronto. This is just one example of purchases by Gulf in 1983. We spent almost \$750 million with over 50,000 suppliers across Canada. Perhaps some of its closest your way.



This breakdown of the Gulf Canada dollar is based on the figures in our 1983 financial report. With a more equitable sharing of revenues, the industry would have more dollars to invest in Canada's future energy security, providing many more jobs — now.

Gulf Canada's investments and sea-to-sea activities benefit Canadians across the land. The ripple effect of the billions Gulf spends in Canada is felt throughout the country as we purchase everything from ice-breakers to helicopter services from Victoria, B.C. to St. John's, Newfoundland. About 98 cents of every dollar we take in is used to run the business.

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Books are a biannual crop, and it is a rare spring or fall harvest that does not include a title by John Robert Colombo. The writer, editor and self-styled "master gatherer" has produced more than 70 books, including the best-known *Colombo's Canadian Quotations* and *Colombo's Canadian Reference*, which swell the outcrops of libraries across the land. It was fitting that he should celebrate the National Book Festival at a branch of the Calgary Public Library last week—but his just-released work was strangely out of tune with his audience. The title, *The Toronto Parade Book* (Underwood, Colombo insisted, "It is the perfect book for one Calga-



ria to give another Calgarian who he doesn't like him." He then moved from sales to another favorite subject, *Parade*, and he described how different *Star Trek* would have been if Canada had produced it. Capt. Kirk's starship, *Enterprise*, Colombo declared, "would have been a joint public and private venture staffed by an equal mix of English, French and cultural minorities. It would have been run by consensus. It would have been over after the first season."

Osteopath Lynda Poir's husband is manipulating her parents' bones and joints, but her pleasure comes from flexing her muscles. "I have a presence that must be reckoned with," said the five-foot, eight-inch, 141-lb. native of Bradford, Ont., who competed in the *Wack's Professional Bodybuilding Championships* in Toronto on May 6.

"You cannot ignore me," Poir, 34, already has four university and medical degrees, has completed three years of her residency in orthopedic surgery at Phoenix General Hospital in Arizona, and she has just published *Getting Back*, a fitness and strength book for women. In it, she explains that she threw away her last developer when she started weight training 16 years ago. Said Poir: "If I did not lift weights,



Colombo (left); Poir (right); Poir in Phoenix: a saving and dynamic presence that must be reckoned with

I would not have a cleavage." Thinking back on what she also managed to develop, she added: "You begin to think of yourself as a dynamic sculpture"—giving new meaning to the term "statuesque."

What do *Robbie Orr*, *Harman Seiborne* and *Chabbe Patch* dolls have in common? They are all answers to questions in *Tour de Force*, a new game in the Trivial Pursuit vein. Authors Pierre Berton and Douglas Templeton last summer solicited the help of friends and relatives to compile some of

the 5,000 questions on topics ranging from *Sandwich Plating* to *Isleford* and *Sam Smit Thompson*. "It was cheap help." Now, they are spending roughly \$30,000 on a campaign to promote the game, based on its 40-percent Canadian content. Since they extended *Tour de Force* April 1, scores across the country have placed orders for close to 100,000 games to retail at \$29.95. The additional boxes for Berton is the opportunity for some personal publicity. Although Templeton modestly edited himself out of the questions and answers, Berton left all four references to his career. Explained Berton: "Charles was fed up with being called an ex-enfant. But I do not mind being called an enfant."



Country singer *Dolly Parton* seems determined to expand her double bills. She recently taught Rocky star Sylvester Stallone to trade lead books for high C's for their songs together in the romantic comedy *Ami Amore*, to be released next month. In it Parton plays a bar owner who turns New York misfit Stallone into a country star. She described her working relationship with Stallone as "magic." But now she yearns for a less macho match. "I would like to do a duet with *Ray Charles*," declared Parton. "He has a great voice." That would be a striking departure from her previous unions—with *Walt* the poodle on screen and *Karey Rogers* on disc—but Parton has no difficulty explaining why the quies of country should team up with the drag queen of pop. Said she: "He is a real weird, and so am I." —JENNIFER JANE MINKAY

# Buckle up in a New GM vehicle and lock into \$10,000 of insurance.

Seat belts help save lives and reduce injuries.

General Motors wants to do something to encourage more people to wear their seat belts.

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Effective April 16, 1984, every new GM car and light truck delivered by a GM dealer in Canada comes with a one-year insurance certificate from MIC Life Insurance Corporation, the insurance people from GM.

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# Buckle your ~~seat belt~~ Life Belt

# Ottawa dives into a crowded pool

In future is uncertain and its potential unknown, but the federal government made its controversial return to the gambling business last week. No fewer than three million \$2 tickets for Sport Select Baseball—which Ottawa claims is a betting pool and the province claims is a lottery—went on sale on May 1. A day later the new Canadian Sports Pool Corp., which will operate a weekly draw it will base on the results of major-league baseball

the federal government ended the lottery business to the provinces in exchange for an inflation-indexed annual payment expected to reach \$55 million this year.

Federal Sports Minister Jacques Olivier insisted last week that Sport Select Baseball does not violate the 1959 accord because the new game involves an element of skill and lottery payouts are purely by chance. Sport Select Baseball requires players to predict the

via image as a "family" game. If Ottawa's sports pool survives future legal challenges, the federal sports ministry plans to conduct pools based on Canadian Football League and National Hockey League results. Still, president John Seigler told Maclean's that his league is holding discussions with Ottawa, but added, "We have a 50-year history of opposition to any form of legalized betting on the outcomes of our games."

To promote Sport Select Baseball, Ottawa last week placed full-page ads in newspapers across the country. The ads defended the government's right to run pools and outlined where anticipated profits would go: "Ottawa and amateur sports, arts and culture and medical and health research"—as well as the (Olympics). And starting May 18 there's different, raising commercials on national television, starring actor Al (King of the Nerds) Waxman, will urge Canadians to play the game. But buying a ticket may be difficult. Ottawa has signed up 55,000 retail outlets—mainly convenience stores—but so many as half of them also sell lottery tickets, and the provincial lottery corporations have threatened to remove the lottery sales computer terminals of dealers who handle the



Olivier and a lineup of the new Sport Select pool tickets: a contentious return to its gambling business

game, survived another legal challenge. Judge Charles Gauthier of the Quebec Superior Court refused applications by Loto-Québec, the Quebec government and the American and National baseball leagues for a temporary injunction to block ticket sales.

Further legal challenges from provincial lottery corporations will not reach court until September. As a result, the operative, which Ottawa hopes will net \$500 million in its first three years and help pay for the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, has at least four months to win acceptance in an already crowded market. Canadians already spend \$1.7 billion a year on provincially run gambling games (under a 1979 agreement

outcomes of four games and take a third chance on nine others. The first prize, which winners may have to share if more than one player has all 12 numbers correct, will be a minimum \$25,000. Olivier said the fact that players must correctly forecast four games "represents the difference between a real lottery, like the provinces handle, and a sports pool." Quebec Premier René Lévesque countered: "Disputing that bettor's on pools is a big job. If you have an agreement, you should respect it."

While the provinces are clearly concerned over possible lost revenues, professional baseball is worried that any association with gambling will tarnish

federal game. Last week Loto-Québec removed a machine from a retailer in suburban Montreal. A similar attempt by the Atlantic Lottery Corp. resulted court when a Quebec television set was a 10-day injunction against the shutting down of its machine.

For all the legal wrangling surrounding the birth of Sport Select Baseball, senior provincial lottery officials insisted that Ottawa may regret having started the pool. Norman Morris, president of the Ontario Lottery Corp., said he doubted that Ottawa's game would ever make a profit. Said Morris: "We figure they will lose about \$25 million in the first year." —PATRICIA HENRY, with Anthony Wilson-Smith in Montreal

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Skerrett: the first of roughly 1,000 legal actions on their way to the Supreme Court

## LAW

# The first Charter ruling

Since Canada's new Constitution—with its heralded Charter of Rights and Freedoms—came into effect on April 17, 1982, more than 1,000 legal actions have been launched on the basis of the principles embodied in it. Many of these cases are now moving through the lower courts on their way to the Supreme Court of Canada. And just week that body rendered a historic first judgment in a Charter case. In a unanimous decision the court ruled that an Ontario statute requiring lawyers in the province to be Canadian citizens or British subjects does not breach the Charter-based right to live and work anywhere in the country. The court's decision could affect many thousands of other noncitizens in Canada who need provincial permission to work in engineering, teaching and other professions.

The case began when South African lawyer Joel Skerrett arrived in Canada in 1977, took two law degrees at Montreal's McGill University and passed the Ontario bar courses—only to be refused admission to the bar in 1981, because he was neither a citizen nor a British subject. Skerrett sought a court order striking down the citizenship clause in Ontario's Law Society Act, arguing that they violated the "mobility rights" guaranteed in the Charter. When the Ontario Court of Appeal agreed with Skerrett, the Law Society of Upper Canada took the case to the Supreme Court, which held its hearing on the case last February.

The Skerrett case was among the

first half-dozen Charter challenges to reach the high court. At issue was the meaning of the Charter's mobility rights clause, which says that every citizen and "permanent resident" has the right "to move to and take up residence in any province; and to pursue the gaining of a livelihood in any province." Skerrett contended that the statute granted a right to work equally to permanent residents and citizens.

Writing the 50-page judgment for the seven justices who heard the case, Mr. Justice Willard Estey ruled that the section "does not establish a separate and distinct right to work." Instead, Estey said, the section means that nobody can be prevented from working or living in one province simply because they come from another province. It does not provide "an independent constitutional right to work as a lawyer in the province of residence."

Skerrett, meanwhile, was admitted to the bar last year after giving written notice that he intended to become a citizen, as the Law Society of Upper Canada, as the original Ontario Court of Appeal ruling on his case. He is now a Canadian and practices in Toronto. But Skerrett believes the Law Society's victory may be short-lived. A separate Charter section on equality rights that takes effect next year guarantees that "every individual is equal before and under the law." As a result, the courts may soon be asked to uphold the equal right of citizens and noncitizens even to practice the law.

—Reported by JOHN HAY in OTTAWA

## MEDICINE

# The test of a herpes drug

It is a development filled with promise—but its final outcome is still far from assured. Researchers at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon say that they may have an effective treatment for the universal disease that helped to slow down the sexual revolution. A team of researchers headed by Sagar Gupta last week reported the successful elimination of all traces of the genital herpes virus in test animals. Now the team is planning to begin clinical trials on humans by July, 1985.

The scientists' cautious optimism is based on the drug methoxymethylbenzoylarginine, or MMA, a chemical developed by Gupta eight years ago and which is now displaying an ability to eradicate the sexually transmitted virus when used in combination with another antiviral drug. The combination treatment may eventually eliminate one of the most widespread and sometimes painful venereal diseases.

Until now, the sexually transmitted herpes virus has been resistant to treatment because when it is transmitted between partners the virus can lie dormant for an indefinite time in the nervous system in the lower back. Sagar Gupta, "When it travels down the nervous system, down the spinal nerve [in the genital area] and causes the infection again." Most drugs currently used against herpes only suppress the viral growth rather than kill it. "When you remove the drug," noted Gupta, "the virus has a chance to replicate again."

But when MMA is used in combination with the other, unidentified drug, the virus's reproductive stages are interrupted at at least two points, making it almost impossible for it to successfully develop resistance to both lines of attack. As a result, it dies. In experiments last year with mice and guinea pigs, said Gupta, "all the animals treated with the drugs had no evidence of recurrence of the disease."

Gupta stressed that the treatment has been tested only on animals recently infected with herpes and not against the persistent recurrences that make herpes an annoying to people. Approval of a new antiviral medicine, however, may take two years. But he added that "if a similar situation can be demonstrated in a human patient—if you can kill the virus at an early stage—you may prevent the later stage."

—DAVE SILBERT

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## Conditions

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3. The judges reserve the right to assign entries from one category to another.
4. All entries must be properly packaged. If a self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed, entries will be returned. However, Maclean's assumes no liability for loss or damage.
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Contest closes July 31, 1984 and all entries must be received by midnight on that date. Entry forms and complete lists of prizes are available at participating camera stores, photo finishers or by writing to Maclean's Photo Contest.





## Robotic boys in blue

Waiting in line at a heavy sword ceremony alongside several New York policemen this month was a quiet, one-eyed Canadian with a grip of steel. The quietest, nicknamed "Besp. Closeaux" by New York police, was a robot designed and built in Scarborough, Ont. New York City Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward presented the robot with a Cup of the Marsh award for its part in a bloody shootout that took the life of one policeman but that, without Closeaux, might have taken many more. In describing the device as a "remarkable piece of machinery with a great future," Ward signalled an increasing awareness of advanced robotics in dangerous police work.

Officially designated IMI, for mobile robotic investigation unit, by its designer, Robert Pedersen, head of Pedco (Canada) Ltd., the robot is a motorized platform with one long arm that has four highly maneuverable fingers at the end and a revolving television eye. It rolls on six wheels, drawing its power from two 10-lb batteries. The machine

can be remotely controlled by an operator as many as three kilometres away and can lower itself to work under objects 60 cm high.

Some more recent versions have X-ray capability to examine the contents of suspicious packages. The IMI costs between \$22,000 and \$46,000, depending

**Versatile remote control machines can now help to eliminate risk when potentially deadly police situations arise**

on the degree of sophistication, and some 45 police forces in Canada and around the world have bought them. So far, the New York police have bought four to help answer the estimated 8,000 yearly New York bomb scares.

The robot's uses are not limited to bomb disposal. IMI (Mark III) was its special sword by seeing as a surrogate

police man in January, after police cornered two fugitives in an Elmhurst, N.Y., apartment, a shooter killed one policeman and injured two more. Then, authorities called in Mark II. The machine pushed its way into the apartment, and its television camera spotted the wanted men on the floor. Both were dead. Said Sgt. Nicholas Dringoli of the Elmhurst police force: "If only we had called in the robot first, one of our men might be alive today. It is a great machine."

Pedersen, the only Canadian manufacturer of police robots, has already sold the IMI to police forces in Europe, the Far and Middle East, as well as in Canada, many of which had previously used a British-made bomb-disposal robot machine, dubbed the "Wendellbarrow," employed by the British army in Northern Ireland.

Like many of his law enforcement clients, Pedersen is reluctant to talk about who buys his product or how the robot might be further developed for police or military work. Reports from the New York police have produced one clue: that force has modified the IMI to work as a weapons platform with automatic guns that are fired with what one source has described as "amazing accuracy."

—JACK MCGOWEN, with William Leather in Washington



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## The cutting edge of life

THE DOLLMAKER

CFT

May 12, 8 p.m.

Under the opening titles of the television movie *The Dollmaker*, a male carrier a distraught woman and her antiaircraft gun down a Kentucky mountain trail. Reaching a highway, the mother, Gertrude Nevels (Jane Fonda), flags down a car whose occupants were her that her son, turning blue from suffocation, will not survive a ride to the hospital. Whipping out her knife, Gertrude promptly performs an emergency tracheotomy and saves the boy's life. With that evil task of her blade Fonda establishes Gertrude, a shamescraper's wife, in a long tradition of folkloric heroines with headless squeals. She also plants an important clue Gertrude's prowess with a knife bears watching. Whether she is quietly pursuing her baby of whitening or fighting for her impoverished family's survival, Gertrude and her struggles create an engrossing story.

The drama really begins when Ger-



Fonda: clashing desperation of poverty

trude's husband, Charlie (Levon Helm), gets a job in a Second World War munitions plant in Detroit. The country-level family finds it hard to stick roots in the city. The eldest son, Rooster (Jason Yewande), heads back to Kentucky. Cause (Nikki Crewell), one of the two daughters, develops an imaginary playmate, one who hinders her to play on the railroad tracks. Still, Gertrude adjusts admirably, she sets aside a few dollars every week to buy a farm and takes out her frustrations by carving a massive bust of Christ. Gradually, Gertrude's whitening starts to bring in a tidy income. Then a prolonged strike at the munitions factory leaves her as the sole breadwinner of the family. In a convoluted act of sacrifice, Gertrude drops up the Christ in order to make more commercial carvings and buy her family's salaries.

For Fonda to play a hombody rather than a convoluted firebrand must itself have been an act of sacrifice. But she makes Gertrude's rough simplicity with quiet, winning strength. Daniel Petrie's direction and the script by Diana Cooper and Hume Cronyn ably capture the drying desperation of a transplanted family's poverty. Despite a convoluted plot and a self-conscious habit of wearing its art on its sleeve, *The Dollmaker* is a poignant, credible parable about old-fashioned values in a world of wrenching change. —BIL MACVICAR

## FOR THE RECORD

## Bold journeys in jazz

HEARD 'ROUND THE WORLD

Miles Davis

SCM

Throughout the 1960s trumpeter Miles Davis was transforming his jazz from the "cool" style of the 1950s to a more rhythmically aggressive sound. *Heard 'Round the World* is a newly released double-disc set of recordings of two 1964 concerts made during that transitional period. The first disc, from a Tokyo concert, features the three saxophonists who were the key elements of Davis's emerging sound: Ron Carter on bass, Tony Williams on drums and Herbie Hancock on piano. The band's power-house rhythm section provides smooth support for the trumpeter's assaults on *So What*, *Ornithology* and *My Funny Valentine*. While these tracks show Davis at his exhilarating best, the leader himself did not seem satisfied with his ensemble. Indeed, by the time the band reached Berlin two months later, it had a new saxophone, Wayne Shorter. Shorter contributed to the Berlin sets with authority—espe-



Davis: exhilarating and a powerhouse

cially on *Milestones* and *Walkin'*. An album of transitions, *Heard 'Round the World* is a powerful collection and, for fans, a fascinating record of change.

FIN DU TRAVAIL (VERNON 1)

Rene Levesque

(Rene Levesque)

Montreal guitarist-composer Rene Levesque's debut album, *Fin du Travail*, is an adventurous amalgam of jazz, rock and sounds from daily life. But far from being a mere grab bag of tricks, it is a compelling collection of musical collages. *Fin du Travail* combines notions of conversation, street noise and a carnival tone to convey an impression of west-battered austerity. Renard D'Amour shows a more orderly side of Levesque's talent, backing his wayward guitar improvisations with gentle but insistent bass riffs that lie either on technological monotony, *Chocroff*, grates on the ears with its driving red metallic notes. By contrast, the driving choral passages of *Musique pour Levesque* poetic sensibility. In fact, *Fin du Travail* contains so many musical ideas that listeners will have difficulty grasping his future direction. Still, his debut reassures that a fresh voice is blowing in the world of progressive jazz. —SART TESTA

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## CONSUMERISM

# The end of a mortgage

On March 12 Canada Trust, the nation's second-largest trust company, announced the first contest of its kind in North America—a monthly draw in which the winner would have the right to occasionally burn a mortgage of as much as \$100,000. The happy first winner was Assunta Ravecca, a 47-year-old widow with three children who held a \$87,269 mortgage with the company. Her selection from 5,800 winners from across the country means that she no longer has a mortgage to pay. The company credits the promotion with helping to increase its mortgage volumes to \$150 million a month from \$75 million a month at its 107 national branches. But the mortgage company's contest has its opponents. Last month Canada Trust was in an Alberta provincial court facing Edmonton police charges of running an illegal lottery. But even the prospect of a possible fine did not dampen the trust company's delight with the unexpected success of the mortgage scheme. Said Robert Overholt, a Toronto-based assistant vice-president of residential mortgages and consumer loans: "We are looking to do six months' volume in three months."

Under the mortgage scheme Canada Trust enters the numbers of residential mortgage borrowers, who renew or take out a new Canada Trust mortgage, in a computer draw. The company's lawyers questioned the legality of the contest, and federal consumer and corporate affairs officials gave the company approval to proceed. But the next after the contest began Edmonton police received several telephone complaints, which prompted them to charge Canada Trust under Section 189 of the Criminal Code with running an illegal lottery. Under the code no one other than government and specified organizations can hold a contest that requires participants to pay a sum of money or put up a valuable security when the prize is worth more than the initial contribution.

At the April court appearance Canada Trust entered a not guilty plea, and the case was adjourned until May 28. For its part, Canada Trust is confident that it will be lucky and win the court case. Said Overholt: "Chances are we will see the contest again."

—STANISLAV SHARUN  
in Calgary



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#### COMMUNICATION

## The new fibre-optic link

When the first transatlantic telephone wire cable service was laid on the ocean floor between Clarendville, Nfld., and Oban, Scotland, in 1966, voice messages could finally cross the ocean without the atmospheric interference problems of radio. Now, seven such wire cables ranging in size from one inch to three inches link North America with Europe. But when the next cable is connected in 1988, from the United States to Britain and France, it will not contain any wires. For the first time, transmission messages will be transmitted by laser pulses moving at the speed of light through hair-thin glass fibres.

The new fibre-optic cable, which will cost \$300 million to build, will dramatically increase the number of channels available for telephone, television and computer signals. Communications groups such as AT&T are launching the U.S. project. Because of the huge capital costs involved, large companies traditionally have been the only builders of cable projects. But with the new cable, smaller communications companies are

for the first time competing to own some of the fibre-optic "circuits" that carry the channels in order to claim a slice of the estimated multibillion-dollar overseas communications market.

The new fibre-optic method provided the foundation for a major advance in cable technology. The most efficient existing cable, known as TAT-7, can carry 8,000 voice channels. But the new fibre-optic cable, to be called TAT-8, will be capable of carrying almost 90,000 separate channels. Mark Forrester, vice-president of engineering and systems development for Trilogix Canada, which is one of the companies involved in the project, said that because of the number of channels the new cable will net be fully utilized until 1994.

Because TAT-8 will initially have excess capacity, some small communications companies are petitioning the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to rule that AT&T and the others in the consortium sell off some of the circuits. Edwin Bailey, a Washington lawyer acting for Amnuxial Radio Inc., an air-fibre communications firm in

Annapolis, Md., one of the petitioners, said that if a smaller company owned its own circuit it could sell overseas communications channels independently. Before, these were laid the cables, such as AT&T, alone owned the circuits. And some observers say AT&T's European partners, including the French government-owned Pofee Vidéotexes Télégraphiques, may be reluctant to authorize the sale of excess channels. But Andrew Rosenzweig, spokesman for London-based British Telecom, which is helping to build TAT-7, even if it were possible to persuade one of the North American co-owners to sell off a couple of circuits, that would be no use without an operating agreement on the European side. Rosenzweig added that nationalistic European authorities are unlikely to permit individual ownership.

The petitioners to the FCC are unlikely to slow down the fibre-optic cable project. When the participating companies sign formal construction agreements in June, TAT-8 will move quickly off the drawing board. Plans call for the cable to be laid from Teisoville, N.J., to Land's End, England, and Porsmash, France, in 1987 is order to be activated on June 30, 1988. With the dramatic efficiency of its high technology, it may be the last cable laid for the next decade.

—DAVE SHAW

#### BEHAVIOR

## The legacy of divorce

Faced with a rising Canadian divorce rate—three out of 10 marriages currently break up—social workers and psychologists increasingly have focused their attention on ways to help the 35,000 children whose families break up each year. New a 18-year study, presented by Judith Wallerstein last month at the annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatry Association in Toronto, portrayed a graphic account of the painful aftereffects on the children. Wallerstein, a psychologist from Corte Madera, Calif., found that young children aged 3½ to 6, although initially showing the greatest psychological distress at the breakup of the family, are able to block out the most disturbing divorce memories after a decade. But children who are older at the time of the divorce continue to suffer from persistent and traumatic memories right into early adulthood.

The study, the longest examination of divorced families ever conducted, began



Hoffer: 'when they realize their parents are not getting back together, they go on'

in 1971 and tracked the lives of 131 children from 60 families in Marin County, Calif., for 10 years. The children ranged from 3½ to 18 years at the time of their parents' divorce and were screened to ensure that there was no prior history of emotional difficulty or school problems. The youngest, aged 3½ to 6, were extremely emotionally upset immediately after the divorce and for as long as 18 months later. The authors concluded

that one-third of those were still depressed five years later.

Wallerstein found that the absent parent continued to exert an influence on the younger children. Children continued to express a need to hold on emotionally to the missing parent—in all cases cited in the study, the father. Despite the fact that some of the absent divorced parents repeatedly rejected or failed them, their children refused to



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skander the idea that they were good and loving parents. Many teenagers had an urge to write to their absent parents and divulge many intimate details of their lives to them. Almost half of the youngest children also continued to believe that their parents would reconcile.

After a decade the younger children seemed to have overcome their initial distress. Indeed, many had only vague recollections of family life before the divorce. One child named Kate, who was 3 when her parents divorced, could only remember the fact that her parents argued. Said Kate, who is now a teenager: "The whole period of time is hazy. I cannot remember it." But for the older children the memories remained vivid and painful, and they carried the fear of loss and betrayal into their mature years. One young woman said: "Every time my boyfriend is 30 minutes late I think that he is with another woman."

In order to help children whose parents divorce, Wallerstein and her colleagues formed the Center for the Family in Transition four years ago. Wallerstein stressed that divorced parents need to resolve actively divorce-related conflicts and they should not expect their children to just "get over it." Sociologist James Richardson of the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, who is studying the effectiveness of conciliation counselling, in which families—including children—are involved in a divorce set down with a court-appointed mediator to settle their emotional and financial problems, added: "The issues in divorce are not really legal. They are emotional and social, and that is why they need a nonadversarial approach."

Sociologist John Hoffer of the University of Winnipeg, who has compared children from 20 divorced and nondivorced families, found that the loss of family support systems can be very stressful for children. But as soon as conflicts between the divorced parents are resolved, the situation begins to improve. Said Hoffer: "The children have mixed feelings at first, but when they realize that their parents are not going to get back together they go on." Margaret Smith, of the Family of Learning at the University of British Columbia, who counsels single parents throughout the province, said that guilt and anger are major problems for divorced parents. She added that parents should seek professional help before separation in order to help the family cope. Said Smith: "Children are not stupid. They know what is happening around them." Still, even with help from social workers and psychologists, children take a long time to heal from the trauma of divorce.

—MARGARET CARLSON

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## No-strike bargaining

Outside of the construction industry, unions have traditionally resisted signing legally no-strike, no-lockout agreements with their employees. Such contracts are disparagingly known in labor circles as "peace pacts." But recently a presidential union in Canada's food industry broke

that trend by agreeing to no-strike provisions in grocery stores from Halifax to Saskatchewan. Now, opposition to the deal is growing among Saskatchewan unions who condemn the practice as a betrayal of the interests of union members.

In January the United Food and Com-

mercial Workers International Union, with 300,000 members nationally and 4,000 in Saskatchewan, signed the controversial six-year, no-strike, no-lockout deal with Windsor Foods Ltd. which covered 900 of the province's employees working in grocery and convenience stores in Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, Swift Current and Melville. Windsor is owned by the largest chain in the Canadian food industry, George Weston Ltd. of Toronto. The union had previously concluded similar deals in Halifax and various parts of Ontario and Manitoba. The first contract, with Dominion Stores Ltd. in Halifax, was signed in 1970.

The six-year Saskatchewan deal is typical because it does not rule out normal negotiation of wages and benefits every two years. But in order to avoid strikes and lockouts, it implements a "final offer selection" system. If a stalemate is reached in negotiations before the expiry of the six-year pact on Dec. 31, 1985, union and management agree to present their final monetary and non-monetary positions to a "selector" chosen by them or—if they are deadlocked—by the provincial labor minister. The selector then chooses one position from each category, and the decision is binding on both parties.

Nadine Burn, president of the 80,000-member Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, said that the federation opposes such agreements "in principle." Said James Holmes, a Saskatchewan staff representative with Canada's largest union, the 200,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees: "We are 100% the other way [from the Food Workers' position]." But the most vocal opposition to the Saskatchewan deal comes from the Saskatchewan-based Central, Wholesale and Department Store Union, a 5,000-member group that broke away from the Food Workers in 1970. Said Len Wallace, the Saskatchewan retail union's secretary-treasurer: "The idea of final-offer selection arbitration was rejected years ago by respectable labor leaders on both sides of the [Canada-U.S.] border because it denies union members the fundamental right to ratify the terms and conditions under which they will work."

But Charles Robertson, labor relations manager for Dominion Stores Ltd., praised the no-strike contracts. He called strikes and lockouts "irresponsible, unwise situations." Jeff McMillan, assistant to the Food Workers' national director, defended the six-year Saskatchewan deal by arguing that: "Strikes are terrible things. The effects they have on people are terrible. This [deal] brings a breath of fresh air into the system. In fact, we are very proud of it."

—BILL ALLAN in Regina

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### HEALTH

## A drugstore tobacco ban

**T**raditionally, pharmacists say that they prefer to think of themselves as health care professionals rather than as businessmen selling drug products. That concept will be put to the test when the Canadian Pharmaceutical Association (CPHA), a professional organization representing Canadian pharmacists, meets in Vancouver on May 16. At that meeting association directors will recommend that their members stop selling tobacco in their pharmacist-owned drugstores. Health and Welfare Canada first made the proposal and it is an extension of the federal government's \$1-billion 1984 anti-smoking advertising campaign. According to CPHA executive director Leroy Fleming, his group supports the campaign as a response to the increasing weight of evidence linking smoking with cancer and heart disease.

But with as much as 25 per cent of tobacco products in Canada sold through drugstores, the choice will be very difficult for pharmacists who depend on a variety of convenience items such as cigarettes to attract customers into their stores. *Said Fleming* "We see this as a non-threatening program that recognizes the realities of the marketplace." Added Stewart Wilson, registrar of the Manitoba Pharmaceutical Association, "Cigarettes have no place in a pharmacy."

Some independent pharmacists have already indicated that they will honor the ban. Winnipeg pharmacist Harvey Curtis, for one, said that he will remove tobacco from his store immediately after the Vancouver meeting.

But there is less enthusiasm for the ban among owners of drugstore chains. The 538-store Shoppers Drug Mart network—whose, along with Imperial Tobacco Ltd., is owned by Montreal-based Imasco—will display antismoking brochures but will continue to sell tobacco, according to president David Bloom. The company points out that smoking tobacco is legal, and that customers want to buy the product. The 188-store, Toronto-based Boots drugstore operation will also display brochures while continuing to sell tobacco. But most of Canada's 5,446 pharmacies are independently operated, and it will be up to the pharmacists and not the chains to decide if the antismoking concept of tobacco-free drugstores will survive.

DAVID SILBERT

### FOR THE RECORD

## Pop's new adventurers

PULKA ORCHESTRA  
Pulka Orchestra  
(Solid Gold)

One of the most adventurous bands to emerge from Toronto is Pulka Orchestra. The creative nucleus, singer Graham Williamson and guitarist Neil Chapman and Terry Eagan-Smith, performs with as many as five freelance members. Indeed, no fewer than 22 session players are credited on *Pulka Orchestra*. As well, the band's debut recording is distinguished by a new sensitivity in songwriting. The songrange is subject from police brutality to loneliness, and all are set to offset folk and rock tempos. *Badher Girl* uses a deceptive backdrop of soft, keyboard sounds and an acoustic guitar for wickedly very lyrics about an inflexible doll. Williamson sings of "ruby lips and Barbara Luperducently welcomed" in a deadpan voice to Chapman's seductive guitar solo. The most imaginative song is *Spies of the Heart*, in which driver rhyme and imagery meet simple finger snapping and steady bass accompaniment. But, despite all of Pulka Orchestra's obvious talent and intelligence, the production is too noticeably crafted; the gentle ballad *Blue Skies* is overly restrained. Much of the group's songwriting is ignored, but in the end the musical chemistry fails to do the material justice.

NO BORDERS HERE  
Joni Riberry  
(Pulse Street)

Tenderness, intelligence and eloquence are vocal qualities for Joni Riberry. On *No Borders Here*, the Toronto singer shows she is willing to take chances with quirky pop melodies and free-form verse. Riberry uses a playful synecopation to carry a song like *Follow Me*, about frustrated love. On *The Wasteway* she turns to humor to describe a house-dress job. "I'd probably be famous now if I wasn't such a good waitress," she jokes. But is more lyrically complex pieces such as *Flowing Class* and *Shine on the Beach*, she switches to spoken verse, and it is her thoughtful poetry that must hold the listener. That she can succeed on so many levels says as much about Riberry's lyrical honesty as about her whimsical sounds.

—NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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## Winnipeg's bug invasion

For the past three years inch-long caterpillars called *cankworms* have invaded Winnipeg in the spring and fall. They devour most of the city's deciduous trees, stain cars with their excrement and leave behind ghastly webs that hang from bare branches like tattered sails. This month

the city's Insect Control Branch is expecting the worst infestation in the city's history. To prepare for the assault the city has increased its worm-killing budget to \$150,000 from \$75,000, and it has advised Winnipeggers to use chemical sprays to do their own worm killing. But the cankerworm plague

only heralds the beginning of the city's annual \$1.1-million war against an array of bugs ranging from mosquitoes to elm bark beetles, and the attendant controversy on the efficacy and safety of chemical spraying. Chicago's Frank LaBella, a University of Manitoba pharmacologist and a vocal critic of insect control programs, "Whatever the infestation, the first reaction is to spray the hell out of it. I do not know of any other city with such a consistent approach to using chemicals."

Roy Ellis, head of the Insect Control Branch, insists that the spraying is neither excessive nor arbitrary. According to Ellis, Winnipeg has always had "an abundance of insects." Located on the edge of the Prairies and the forests of the Canadian Shield, crisscrossed by three rivers, the city offers insects a wide variety of trees and shrubs for feeding and breeding. As the only full-time entomologist employed by a major Canadian city, Ellis heads a permanent staff of 16 and a seasonal army of 35 to 50 workers. Once billions of cankerworms hatch in mid-May, his crews will go to work spraying tree-lined boulevards with the pesticide methoxyphenol, a relative of DDT, and major public parks and golf courses with a bacterial agent. He speculates that a mild winter and lush tree growth may make this year's infestation particularly severe. Ellis added that the infestation might be associated with the banning of carbofend the federal government outlawed DDT in 1969 because of its toxicity, the city used the chemical exclusively for pest control.

Winnipeggers intensely dislike cankerworms, a species that intermittently appears in great numbers four or five years in a row. Not only do the worms get tangled in people's hair, but they also can sometimes forced a family to abandon its home because they completely overran it. In the middle of an infestation citizens can even hear the worms' pepper-sized droppings fall from the trees like a spring rain.

But experts are divided as to how to deal with the problem. Ellis claims that the city's elm—Winnipeg's dominant shade tree and one of the least desirable food sources—particularly needs to be sprayed because repeated defoliation weakens the trees and makes them more susceptible to Dutch elm disease. But LaBella pointed out that a 1975 study by Manitoba's Clean Environment Commission found that spraying caterpillars did not help tree growth in the long run. Ellis contends that the city has a mandate to protect its elm trees in the safest and most economical way possible. If his critics have better ideas, he says, he would be happy to hear about them.

Indeed, his critics contend that the



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spraying is essentially ineffective. By using chemicals against the city reduces the worms' natural predators, such as the very scarier beetles, and creates what Wintzinger ecologist Vero Scott calls a "pesticide treadmill." He, for one, suggests that instead of spraying the city should diversify its tree population. In addition, said LaBella, "there are always risks when you use chemicals. It affects on animals, people's health and water contamination. They are always there."

Despite the concerns, Wintzingers have flooded exterminators with requests to spray residential trees. Said Joel Gosselin of Swat Professional Exterminators Inc., who has received as many as 155 calls a day: "When you have a severe infestation like this, people do not care what you spray." Homeowner Ernest Rayner plans to have his 11 maple and two poplar trees sprayed because he could not walk through his front yard last year without getting covered by worms. Said Rayner: "You have to get up with something to get rid of something."

But by the time the worms disappear and the larvae have grown back on the city's trees, Wintzingers will be involved in a much more controversial bug war: the city's summer mosquito control program. Unlike the make-over outbreak, the mosquito campaign directly affects most Wintzingers and many Manhattaners by repeatedly exposing them to pesticide sprays. To reduce the level of summer mosquitoes to "tolerable levels," the city regularly dispatches trucks to fog residential neighborhoods with either malathion or cyfluthrin at night. It also systematically poisons breeding ponds within and 35 km outside of the city limits. And if the province finds that mosquitoes are carrying *Wuchereria bancrofti*, encephalitis or dengue fever, it declares a health emergency and B-6 airplanes blanket the province with malathion or Boregas.

These measures have prompted lawsuits, several lawsuits and sporadic protests. As with the endowments debate, many citizens question the effectiveness of the city's and province's multi-million-dollar mosquito campaigns. Others are concerned about the unknown health effects of pesticide exposure. The province admits that it and the city spray to save lives and to try to ensure that people enjoy their summers. Although both governments have pledged to explore alternatives to chemical spraying, including natural controls, few expect the commitment to be realized this year. Said LaBella, "The spraying is self-fulfilling and self-perpetuating. It is going to be hard to eradicate."

—ANDREW NIELSEN in Winnipeg.

## BOOKS

# Anatomy of a desert war



Israeli troops marching toward Jordan: a thriller serving the cause of truth

## WARRIORS FOR JERUSALEM: THE DATES THAT CHANGED THE MIDDLE EAST

By Donald Nitz  
(Masson, 470 pages, \$24.95)

There was little metal alarm on the morning of June 5, 1967, when Soviet and U.S. radio operators on ships in the Mediterranean first picked up Israeli warplanes in their screens. In the previous two years they had learned that the nuclear ships radiated routine practice maneuvers. But when the radar devices tracked the low-flying planes moving in formation over Egypt, the confusion was total. The flight was more than training exercises. The Third Middle East war in 15 years was under way. *Warriors for Jerusalem* is a chilling reconstruction of that pivotal conflict by former *Time* correspondent Donald Nitz. As readable as a thriller, *Warriors* documents the war that laid the groundwork for all the region's subsequent wars. As well, the book contains much new information, obtained through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act. Like the first volume in his trilogy of recent Middle East wars, *Warriors of Syria*, Nitz's fascinating sequel is certain to become a classic in modern historical literature.

Remarkably, a war that had such great long-term impact almost ended on the morning it began. The initial Israeli attack on Egyptian targets were so

devastating that Ezer Weizman, Israeli chief of operations, telephoned from military headquarters to his wife to boast, "We have won the war." Replied Norma Weizman: "Ezer, are you crazy?" The rest of the world was similarly stunned. Washington officials allowed President Lyndon Johnson to sleep through the first critical hours as they assembled to figure out what was happening and how to respond. Meanwhile, the Israeli military machine, unaided by success, was pursuing the war beyond its original objective. In learning that they had demolished 306 of Egypt's 348 aircraft, most of them still on the ground, Israeli air force Gen. Mosheh Dayan, chief of staff, ordered his men to "do the Jordanians." As a result, the conflict blazed as Israel continued to seize parts of Jordan, Syria and Egypt's massive Sinai peninsula.

The action in Nitz's wide-ranging panorama moves swiftly from desert battle scenes to no-man's-land in international capitals. According to transcripts from the Moscow-Washington Telen, the United States remained perplexed about what was happening, even as it desperately tried to explain the causes of its slip into wartime. Leaders in the Kremlin, meanwhile, Israeli forces re-established control of the holy city of Jerusalem for the first time in almost 1,900 years. In contrast to Israel's mood of elation, Egypt was angry: its radio stations aired the voice of President Gamal Abdel

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Nasser, clicking with grid as he announced the swift defeat of his country's 100,000-strong armed forces and the city of his own resignation.

Neff's major contribution is that he puts the conflict in historical context. Never before had one country so powerfully challenged or quickly defeated the Arab states. Their loss of deep support for a fledgling stateless group, the Palestine Liberation Organization. For Israel the war signalled the growth of a hard-line, independent foreign policy under the guidance of new leaders like Menachem Begin. As well, the conflict drove the superpowers ever more deeply into the region's intrigues. As for the U.S., the support it gave Israel effectively ended any semblance of its neutrality in the Middle East. Yet according to Neff, Washington gave its support without full information from Israeli or even serious internal debate. Quoting damning presidential diary entries and White House memos, the author portrays Johnson as a man obsessed with his failing initiative in Vietnam, trying short-sightedly to use the Six Day War as a distraction. To its credit, the meticulously researched, scrupulously objective *Warriors* will please none of the participants it portrays. But in keeping a cool head, Neff has served well the cause of historical truth.

—ROBERT WOODRUFF

## NACLEAN'S BESTSELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *The Aquilone Progression*, Lothian (1)
- 2 *Pot Seminary*, Krup (1)
- 3 *The Day*, Uva
- 4 *The Wreaths of Dune*, Herbert
- 5 *Poland*, Wolner (1)
- 6 *Secret Witness*, Kline (1)
- 7 *Lord of the Dunes*, Greely (1)
- 8 *The Longest Night in Darkness*, Smith (1)
- 9 *The Wicked Day*, Bennett (1)
- 10 *The Name of the Rose*, Eco (1)

### Nonfiction

- 1 *Sex and Death*, Greer (1)
- 2 *The Game*, Oprea (1)
- 3 *The March of Paddy: From Irish to Vietnam*, Tuckman (1)
- 4 *Further Up the Organism*, Pomeroy (1)
- 5 *Strike Two*, Luciani and Puffer
- 6 *Painting the Owl: Minnie Weisner* (1)
- 7 *Work, Pleasure and Love* (1)
- 8 *Lines and Shadows*, Winkler (1)
- 9 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr (1)
- 10 *The Discoveries*, Novotny (1)
- 11 *Intrepid's Last Case*, Stevenson (1)

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## A prison of desire and repression

THE UNBEARABLE LIGHTNESS OF BEING

By Milan Kundera  
(Pittsburgh & Whitefish,  
212 pages, \$27.95)

Most novels examine some form of oppression, either in a political, sexual or spiritual context. Czech expatriate Milan Kundera is particularly well qualified to deal with those themes. Before the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, his fiction was widely read in his homeland; his first two titles were published in editions of 150,000 copies each. When the Soviets took control, Kundera was dismissed from his professorship at the Prague film academy and his books were removed from Czech public libraries. He emigrated to France in 1975 and since then he has established a substantial international reputation as a writer who reveals how the political lives of nations cannot be separated from the private lives of citizens. The novel, explains Kundera in his brilliant new work, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, "is an investigation of human life in the trap the world has become."



Kundera, a voice of genuine wisdom

For Kundera's characters the world is a trap because contradictory forces—sex and love, the freely and the strict, freedom and responsibility—have paralyzed them as if they were iron particles locked in a magnetic field. Tereza is an accomplished surgeon in Prague during the 1960s. Although she loves him, his wife, Tereza, he cannot control his fa-

great promiscuity. In a similar circumstance, Tereza is unable to reconcile her aspirations for a career as a photographer with her dependence on Tomas. When they flee Czechoslovakia after the Soviet occupation, they leave behind a totalitarian state. But they carry with them the prison of their own desires. After Tereza discovers that Tomas has been conducting his libertine habits, she returns to Prague. The pudgy husband soon follows her. They spend the rest of their lives following the orders of an automatic regime and battling their conflicting impulses.

Conflict is also rife in the parallel plot that unravels the story of Sabina, one of Tomas's mistresses, and her other lover, Franz. Sabina is a painter who cannot accept responsibility in love or politics. Her life is a series of intrigues, embodying a kind of rationalism that Kundera calls "the unbearable lightness of being." Franz, a free-traded academic, is desperately in search of commitment in love and politics. But he engineers his own downfall through his inability to understand Sabina's anarchic soul and the hypocrisy that surrounds his intellectual tastes.

The plot of *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* is bleak in the extreme: three of the four major characters meet violent deaths, and the only happy figure in the novel, Tereza's dog, dies of cancer. But the action is only of secondary concern to Kundera. Readers come to his novels for what the narrative has to say, not to follow the fates of the characters. Because of this characteristic, the Czech novelist is a throwback to 19th-century writers who, as Kundera said in a 1986 interview, "understood the novel as a great game. They discovered the beauty of the word's freedom."

With his consistent intelligence and chatty manner, Kundera has kept that tradition alive. Although he tells a story that is bereft of hope, his accompanying observations about human nature are revelatory. Clinging the narrative are long discourses on a wide variety of topics, including the religious associations of extremes, the irreconcilable differences between men and women and the innocent love between humans and dogs. The theme that unifies these disparate subjects is Kundera's belief that "human life occurs only once, and the reason that we cannot determine which of our decisions are good and which are bad is that in a given situation we can make only one decision; we are not granted a second, third or fourth life in which to compare various decisions." Often witty, sometimes terrifying and always profound, Kundera brings genuine wisdom to his novels at a time when many of his fellow practitioners of the craft are lapsing only to cleverness. —JAN PHAROSON

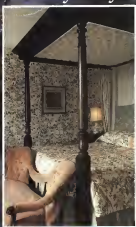
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## Campaigning for the job at the top

BRIAN MULRONEY: THE BOY FROM BAIE-COMTE  
By Rae Murphy, Robert Chodas and Nick Auf der Mauer  
(James Lemire, 108 pages, \$24.95)



Mulroney politically empty speeches

Two men with backgrounds as specialists in industrial relations have risen to the top in Canadian politics. One was Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, the other is Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney. Rae Murphy, Robert Chodas and Nick Auf der Mauer, the trunks of journalists who have written the first biography of Mulroney, draw several parallels with King's career. The most notable is that each man spent his early years helping American industrialists recognize the need to get along with their employees. As well, like King, Mulroney appears to be a political malleable-threshold, a man who had no ideological reasons for becoming a Conservative. In their aim, largely uncritical and unrevealing study, the authors write, "There is nothing in [Mulroney's] political makeup that is incompatible with membership in the Liberal party." In the authors' view, Mulroney's small-town Quebec upbringing explains most of his outlook on life and politics. He grew up in Baie-Comeau, an iron ore company town created by U.S. enterprise and capital under the paternalistic regime of Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis. The authors write, "There is as evidence that Mulroney ever saw anything wrong with this scheme of things. . . . It is perhaps not unfair to

Mulroney to suggest that he was Canada's first large company lawyer."

Mulroney became a Conservative during his undergraduate days at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., largely because he found the campus Liberals unimpressively arrogant. His most important political convictions were formed while he attended law school at Laval university; it was there that the network of bilingual, Quebec-oriented Tories which eventually elevated him to power took shape. But before running for politics, office Mulroney spent many years perfecting his skills as a labor relations expert—as the employers' side—in Montreal. He also paid enough political damage a Quebec Tory to justify his campaign for the leadership in 1985. The authors contend that one reason Mulroney refused to divulge the sources of his funds in that losing effort was that "a good deal of money came from some prominent Liberals who were a little fed up with [Pierre] Trudeau and were looking for a PC leader who could conceivably be a credible alternative to Quebec." After he lost, Mulroney offered him a cabinet position, which he refused.

After Mulroney mistakes virtually no investigative journalists. There is no speculation about the controversial funding of the 1980-1983 campaign by disgruntled Tories to oust Joe Clark as leader. The book briefly dismisses the dirty tricks—rousing up men's hostel residents—used to recruit Quebec delegates to the 1983 leadership convention which chose Mulroney. The authors write, "Any criticism of his organization should have been offered by the final ballot." The only real conclusion the authors draw about Mulroney's ascendancy is that he is primarily a "great negotiator" who has come to the Tory leadership "with more specialized training and experience in the management of relations among business, labor, government and the public than any other leader of a major Canadian political party since Mackenzie King."

Murphy, Chodas and Auf der Mauer have little to say about the man behind the speeches. Their soft-betting book is almost devoid of anecdote or incident. Indeed, their harshest criticism is a condemnation of the "political failures" of Mulroney's government. The authors write, "Behind the facade, he is seen by those who know him best as the good son, the devoted husband and father, and the loyal friend." In a work that often reads like a campaign primer, they present a portrait of Mulroney that is as bland and uninteresting, publicly and privately, as Mackenzie King always appeared to be.

—MICHAEL BLISS

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## The mapping of memories

It could be a tool that helps to end years of frustration for historians, government officials and northern native peoples who have struggled to unravel complicated native land claims. Until now a major stumbling block to land claims negotiations has been the difficulty in determining what specific northern lands native peoples traditionally used. Most public land-use information on the location of hunting grounds, settlements and traditions was anecdotal in nature and changed over the years. Now, the Dictionary of Alberta's Dene Mapping Project, a unique series of computer-drawn maps completed in December, 1983, will provide Canada's 13,500 Dene nations for the first time with accurate visual evidence to support their claims and requests for compensation.

The Dene commissioned the mapping project, but the maps have applications for native groups involved in land claims negotiations. The new maps, produced by a team headed by project director University of Alberta anthropologist Michael Asch, give previously un-

charted land-use and occupancy information for negotiations between the Dene and the federal government and, in instances where there are overlapping claims, between the Dene and other native groups in the North.

### A new computer mapping system could end years of confusion in talks over native land claims

Dene researchers began to put the first pieces of the picture together in the mid-1970s as part of the Dene presentation to the Berger commission, studying the possible impact of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. Community researchers interviewed the most experienced trappers and obtained verbal details of their hunting patterns. After assembling the recollections of about 600 of the estimated 2,000 trappers, the

researchers painstakingly drew each trapline and trail by hand. Technicians then entered the recollections of the hunters in computerized webs of trails and routes that encompassed the maps to reveal patterns of traditional land use that had never been previously depicted. In the end, the unique marriage of tradition and technology had electronically charted almost 100 years of hunting, trapping and fishing habits of the Dene. The maps covered more than 280,000 square miles of the Northwest Territories, northern Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia and the Yukon.

The maps have already played a major role in the Dene presentation to the federal government study into overlapping land use in the Northwest Territories in January and April. William Wondol, a University of Alberta geographer, recalled that when Indian and Northern Affairs Minister John Munro appointed him, land claims adviser for the federal government, Wondol said that the maps clarified the Dene position and helped their negotiations significantly. "The boundary concept is one that has been thrust upon the native peoples," he said. "The maps document what the Dene and Inuit have always known themselves."

—BARBARA DICKES  
in Edmonton

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## HERITAGE

## Halifax's high-rise war



Lindgren and Milfr's Hart House: fighting to preserve a historic identity

For the past 16 months an emotional, sometimes bitter argument has raged in Halifax over an apparently routine proposal to build an apartment building in the city's downtown area. The debate centred on the far-reaching issues of development vs. preservation of the past, which have been fought over in Canadian cities throughout the past two decades—and it resulted in a defeat for the preservationists. By a 9-to-5 vote, Halifax city council gave the go-ahead to the high-rise building that will loom over the city's 110-year-old Public Gardens and will result in the demolition of at least one handsome Victorian building.

The issue surfaced last June when United Equities Ltd. applied to the city for permission to develop a downtown property which is planned to be bought by Dalhousie University. The property includes a fine 19th-century house known locally as the "Hart House" and a row of Victorian dwellings that would be torn down to make way for a 100-unit apartment building screen from the Public Gardens, a 17-acre, enclosed English-style garden that is one of the city's most popular retreats.

Opposition to the project arose quickly. When the proposal was discussed at a public meeting of the Halifax Planning Advisory Committee, ar-

chitects would have allowed the project to proceed providing that the building "not cast any shadow over the Public Gardens after 10 a.m." during the summer months. In effect, a height restriction that would have kept the building at no more than eight stories. That limitation, United Equities claimed, would jeopardize the project's feasibility.

Then, on Jan. 26, Gerald (Paddy) Malley moved to have the issue referred to hear "new information." Council agreed, and at a public hearing in April, Haligonians jammed the city council chambers and hallways to listen and to present their own facts. Arguments for United Equities, Nicholas Iannone of the University of Western Ontario testified that, on the basis of wind-tunnel experiments with models, he was satisfied that the proposed building would have a "negligible effect" on winds in the gardens, while a study by R.R. Redwell of Atlantic Research Associates Ltd. showed "no appreciable impact whatsoever on plants in the Halifax Public Gardens." But Carol Goodwin Hilt, chair of architecture at the city's Mount St. Vincent University, disagreed. She testified that many borderline plants in the gardens would not survive the "change in microclimate, which will occur with increased wind and shadow conditions."

For his part, Ray Larkin, counsel for Friends of the Public Gardens, objected to the proposed project because he said that there had been procedural irregularities. The group claimed, among other things, that in overturning the recent proposal changes to the city's height restrictions prior to ministerial review, council violated provincial acts governing municipalities. When city council rejected his arguments, Larkin repeated the argument that the proposed building would reduce people's enjoyment of the gardens and of the surrounding area. Against that, Bruce MacDonald, president of the Building Trades Council of Nova Scotia, noted that with "9,000 of the 8,000 Nova Scotia construction workers unemployed," the council was "900 per cent behind a project that requires half a million man-hours" of work.

In the end, city council approved the high-rise project in a modified form. Although Hart House will be demolished to make way for the 17-story apartment tower, the Victorian row houses will be left in place. Following the April 26 vote giving a green light to the project, Friends of the Public Gardens announced that they would try to take their case to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. But with construction of the project scheduled to begin this year, the preservationists may now be in a race against the wreckers's ball.

—SUSAN MACPHER in Halifax



# What babies should not know

By Allan Fotheringham

I have this friend, you see. Of the male menopausal age, short of hair and long on verbs, his teenage child, not as high as his ego, understanding of his young wife, who has just delivered a bouncing baby girl—who is more hostile than he is. His wife has outstayed Ottawa friends by appearing, these days, at a great party for an award-winning colleague, with baby in tow, of course. A day or so later, she disembarked acquaintances by appearing in the local supermarket while watching the colour cart up and down the aisles. Nine days after the baby's birth, she started out to the Ottawa airport to meet Murray, who was flying in from Bixby. When I asked my alleged friend whether his wife was taking the tad to the airport, he replied, somewhat haughty, "Waddy right. I believe that's the way it should be. A baby, from that start, should absorb the sounds and the smells, the noise and the confusion. Even though she can't understand it, that's the way it should start."

Well now, that's a good idea. I'll never really thought of this, therefore, absorbed as I am in the philosophical contents of Eugene Wicks, John Turner's clarification of his christenings, John Roberts's attempts to elevate himself from Neil Caward into a statesman and Don Johnston's explanation of how he got his black eye by getting into a right wing in the land of right.

The idea that a newborn babe should absorb, from birth, the true smells and confusion of Ottawa is indeed a unique concept. But is it fair? Why should a mere child be confronted with the truth that is shielded from practically all Canadian adults? Life indeed is cruel.

The proud father's intention is no doubt correct and should not be ridiculed, but is there a child fresh from his mother's womb who should be thrust, unaided, into the sea of mediocrity that dogmatizes itself as the Liberal leadership race? With the winner ostensibly Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southern News*.

fully becoming Prime Minister of this innocent land, after being awarded in the Ottawa shanty rink late on the Saturday afternoon of June 16? John Mulroney, still emerging from his losing battle with a bathtub, seriously gazing himself off as a successor to Pierre Elliott Trudeau? Mark MacGillivray, who holds more degrees than delegates, slumping the head and taking on the greatest sacrifice of all—what is to stay to the end of his speeches? Are her leader ears ready, really, for the perambulations of Dr. MacGillivray who denies on camera that he would sack Bank



of Canada been Gerald Boney and then, when they passed for a momentary break, willingly hands to the underwriter that he would? And Liberal Acting Prime Minister Joe-Lee Pepin explaining to the Commons that off-camera "doesn't count?"

Surely there is a better position in the world for a new statistic than to hear the leadership qualifications of Mr. Wicks, the only man in the House of Commons who doesn't speak either of the two official languages, and who claims that he is the "best-known politician in the world" because he attends food conferences around the globe. Or to Mr. Turner, who has testified that he is on both sides of the language question. In Manitoba, agrees or does not agree with Bill 161 in Quebec, depending on which day, in which press conference you catch him, and—just to judge his bets and demonstrate how sincerely he wants to be the new Prime Minister—has during that leadership trauma his directorships in both Canadian Pu-

rolo and MacMillan. Mulroney renewed People who know such things confide that Mr. Turner's success from his myriad directorships in the corporate world comes to \$10,000 alone, outside his income from his Bay Street legal firm. Mr. Edward Broadbent, who otherwise is not having a good season, is leaving a very high average when he says that the essential choice for the Canadian voter in the coming election is between the Royal Bank and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—one of which recruited Mr. Turner as a lawyer and the other, Mr. Brian Mulroney as a director.

Mr. Richard Goodham, the learned wit of a serious Toronto paper, says both Brian Turner and John Mulroney remind him of The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit. Is this mere labe, a new name to Planet Earth, ready for all this? Should she be?

Should it be left to the struggling to explain to Jean Chrétien, who is as honest as the day is long, that there is no chance whatsoever that a country that is 67-per-cent non-francophone is going to elect as the new first minister francophone after 28 years of Mr. Trudeau's brilliant but inward-directed, ethnocentric leadership? Surely that task should be left to someone else. How do we explain to the one in a million of children's capital that oligarchs from the brightest taxpayer for years the fact that Canada's hopelessly inefficient, dishonestly in debt, still producing sensible citizens while increasing executive pay and laying off workers? Wonder?

How does one delineate, speaking of sounds and smells and confusion, to our newest arrival the delightful hypocrisy of our Prime Minister—minister of the Just Society, purveyor of world peace and the lowering of hostile nuclear voices—fully filling, in his final hours, that pastiche of the emotionally exhausted, the Senate, with retrograde, agaphic, taken and corporate corpses, the brain answers in the chamber that is heavy on hearing aids and oxygen tests?

Further, we adore your bravery and bare-against hags, but is the babe really ready, this soon, for all this, for all that Ottawa encompasses?

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